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AMERICANA GERMANICA

MONOGRAPHS DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE

Literary, Linguistic and Other Cultural Relations
OF
Germany and America

EDITOR
MARION DEXTER LEARNED
University of Pennsylvania

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THE
American Ethnographical Survey

Conestoga Expedition 1902

MARION DEXTER LEARNED
Director

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THE AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The Conestoga Expedition, Summer 1902.

(Preliminary Report.)

In the year 1897 a new ethnographical inquiry was begun by the publication of question forms in the quarterly *AMERICANA GERMANICA* (Volumes I and II). The field opened by these studies proved so attractive as to justify a more sustained effort of inquiry in the same direction. Accordingly, the general plan of an *Ethnographical Survey* was presented by M. D. Learned at the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society, held in Philadelphia in April, 1902. Following up this paper a meeting of the representatives of the various race societies of the City of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania was called by invitation of Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, at the University Club, May 17, 1902. At this meeting the following participated: Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, President of the German American Historical Society; Dr. George W. Atherton, President of State College; Professor M. G. Brumbaugh, the first Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico; Dr. W. P. Wilson, Director of the Commercial Museum; Dr. C. J. Hexamer, President of the German American Alliance; Mr. Arno Leonhardt, President of the Junger Männerchor; Professor Hermann Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College; Mr. Stewart Culin, of the University Museum; Mr. G. B. Keen, Librarian of the Pennsylvania

Historical Society ; Dr. Julius F. Sachse, Treasurer of the Pennsylvania German Society ; Mr. Howard M. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, representing the Welsh Society; President L. E. Levy, of the Jewish Association ; Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania ; Dr. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania ; Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The general plan of the *American Ethnographical Survey* was laid before the meeting by M. D. Learned, and those present expressed their views of the undertaking, emphasizing the value of the work from the point of view of the race elements represented by their respective societies and the importance of the survey for the State and country at large.

The general plan of the survey was heartily endorsed and a committee was appointed to formulate a detailed method of procedure. The committee consisting of J. G. Rosengarten, Chairman ex-officio, Geo. W. Atherton, C. J. Hexamer, Arno Leonhardt, M. G. Brumbaugh, Stewart Culin, M. D. Learned, Secretary, presented a few days later a definite plan of work.

This committee approved the organization of an expedition for the summer of 1902, and recommended that funds be solicited for the purpose. The German American Alliance and German American Historical Society proceeded to collect the necessary funds for this summer expedition. A sum of money to defray the expenses of the first expedition was contributed by the following :

J. G. Rosengarten,	\$100 00	Arno Leonhardt,	\$25 00
Peter Schemm,	200 00	C. J. Heppe,	10 00
Isaac H. Clothier,	50 00	G. A. Schwartz,	10 00
George C. Thomas,	50 00	F. C. Rollman,	25 00
Joseph Wharton,	50 00	C. Schmidt & Sons,	25 00
Clarence S. Bement,	100 00	J. Levering Jones,	50 00
Solomon Blumenthal,	25 00	Bergdoll Brewing Co.,	25 00

Other important assistance was given by the Hon. George F. Baer and Mr. R. M. Oberteuffer, and in the beginning by Mr. Joseph S. Harris and the late John C. Sims.

The expedition was then organized as follows :

M. D. Learned, Ph.D.,	Director, University of Pennsylvania.
G. D. Luetscher, Ph.D.,	“ “ “
Charles F. Brede, A.M.,	“ “ “
J. A. Bole, A.B.,	“ “ “
Charles R. Miller, Ph.D.,	Brooklyn, New York.
E. M. Fogel, A.M.,	Bethlehem, Pa.

The initial work began with the original German settlements of Lancaster County, along the Pequea and Conestoga Creeks, and extended into the other German counties of Eastern Pennsylvania and to the Western end of the State into Ohio. In the township of Strasburg the Survey was applied in its rigid form of house to house visitation throughout the entire township. The general lines of work conducted during the summer were as follows :

1. GERMAN INDUSTRIES, particularly the various kinds of mills, such as grist mills, saw mills, fulling mills, etc., and the various forms of distilling, which constituted in the first decades of the century a most important industry not only in Lancaster County, but in other counties of the State as well. In this study, the results of which will be presented by Dr. Luetscher, the Court House records, data from old account books running back to the eighteenth century, and other family and personal records have been freely used, and the whole is to be illustrated by photographic reproductions and maps.

2. GERMAN OCCUPATIONS AND TRADES before 1830. In this study the Court House records were helpful to a certain degree, but much of the material had to be gathered from other sources lying scattered around in garrets and among the family records. The results of this investigation show a great preponderance of articles of German make among the inhabitants of inland Pennsylvania during the Colonial and Constitutional periods.

A comparison of data shows very clearly how the hand-work of the Germans in the country town finally yielded to the larger productive activity of the imported or invented machines.

3. GERMAN AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ARCHITECTURE also received special attention. In this field a larger territory has been covered, extending not only throughout the German parts of Pennsylvania, but into New Jersey and New York and down into the Shenandoah Valley. Here the survivals are in many cases still intact and could be photographed. Under this head much material has been collected illustrating the various forms of agricultural implements, domestic utensils, the German house and barn, the Conestoga wagon and the like.

4. OLD GERMAN DOMESTIC LIFE was studied in its survivals in detail and an abundance of material was gathered which illustrates the tenacity of German customs in their resistance to all invasion of modern forms and modes of life. In the territory chosen the Survey was exhaustively carried out, every family was visited and as many exact details as could be had were collected. This material will also be illustrated by appropriate photographic reproductions. It has been the effort of the expedition to treat these matters historically and comparatively, and, as far as possible, chronologically.

5. THE LITERARY LIFE of the Germans in Colonial Pennsylvania was also carefully studied; a number of diaries and a mass of unpublished manuscripts bearing upon the literary, political and social life of the early periods was collected. In this inquiry many families placed at the disposal of the Survey their family records and relics of various kinds which could be made serviceable in completing the study. This material will constitute a new and important chapter in the history of Pennsylvania.

6. THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE of the Germans in their contact with the Scotch Irish, the English Quakers, the Welsh and other nationalities was investigated. It is reasonable to expect that this study, too, will furnish a clear insight into the actual contributions made by these various race elements to the history of the development of the Commonwealth. Here, also, illustrative material was collected.

7. THE SPEECH CONDITIONS of the territory occupied the serious attention of a part of the survey. After going over the ground in person and examining the dialect peculiarities of the various localities, two members of the expedition compiled the dialect test-words characterizing the speech of the German inhabitants. Upon the basis of these words circulars were prepared asking for speech data from the different localities with a view to constructing a *Dialect Map*, particularly of the German portions of Pennsylvania. It has been demonstrated that the dialect still spoken is a safe guide to the origin of the Germans who settled in the Colonial period. This map will show the lines of speech difference along which the various dialects meet. It is the intention to extend this method of inquiry into the Scotch, Irish, Welsh and other English speaking territories, and also to the settlements occupied by the natives of other foreign countries.

8. OLD COLONIAL ROADS, as the forerunners of the great thoroughfares of commerce and travel represented at the present time by the railroad lines to the far west, received the attention of the expedition. In this study maps will be presented representing the trade and travel routes during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Incidental to these commercial routes will be given a historical account of the various forms of vehicles and means of transportation employed both on land and water ways. These studies will be accompanied by appropriate illustrations.

9 ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS. Incidentally a considerable number of objects of an archæological character were collected and will constitute the beginning of a still more definite attempt to collect all obtainable objects relating to the early life of Pennsylvania during the Colonial and later periods. The expedition had no special funds at its disposal for purchasing such articles, and was able to collect only such as were presented during the progress of the work. The ready co-operation which greeted the members of the expedition, however, was most gratifying, and it is clear that with a moderate effort practically all of the most characteristic forms of Colonial life could be illustrated by an exhaustive collection of this character.

MAPS, CHARTS, TABLES, ETC. A large number of maps, charts, statistical tables, and other illustrated matter are now in process of preparation, and will constitute valuable addition to what already exists.

The work of the Survey demonstrated to the satisfaction of all the members that this method of inquiry is a most fruitful one, and that this beginning is most timely. During the course of the summer, the members frequently came just too late to rescue some valuable document, some old diary, or old series of accounts, or historical chronicle from destruction or oblivion. Not unfrequently we were greeted with the information, "If you had only come a little earlier we could have given you barrels of stuff; only a short time ago we burned a whole mass of books and records as old rubbish." So long as this state of things exists and the records of the people lie scattered over the State, it will be impossible to write a complete history of the State of Pennsylvania, or of any other State in the Union.

It was the experience also of the expedition that the slightest recognition on the part of the State, or any authority given by the State to the Survey, would make accessible a large mass of material in the way of private and semi-private records, which were naturally withheld from the members

of this more or less private expedition. Quite often the question was asked whether we were collecting under the authority of the State. If we could have said we had been sent out by the State, the people generally would have opened their garrets and cellars with even greater willingness to the inquiring members of the expedition.

In this connection it is but fitting that public recognition should be given to all who assisted directly and indirectly in the work of the expedition. A complete list of the names of all such will be published with the full report.

The first results of this preliminary survey will appear in the forthcoming issues of this monthly. The following pages contain *Benj. Herr's Journal 1830*, one of the documents loaned the expedition by Mr. A. A. Herr, of Lancaster, Pa.

M. D. LEARNED, *Director*.

AN AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The plan of an American Ethnographical Survey has been evolving for a decade and a half. In the year 1888 the present writer published a comparative study of the dialect of the Germans of Pennsylvania, basing his results upon data collected in the Rhenish Palatinate in their relation to the German dialect spoken in Pennsylvania. At that time it became clear that even in the German population of the State more or less sharply defined dialect territories, or speech islands, still existed. Some ten years later a definite plan was formulated for special investigation not only into the language, but also into the other cultural survivals of the Germans in this country. Circulars were accordingly issued from time to time in the quarterly *Americana Germanica*, asking for answers to specific inquiries touching these subjects. Meanwhile much progress had been made by other countries in this and related fields. The growing activity of the various Ethnological and Ethnographical Societies of Europe, England and America had made continuous advance in many directions. The epochal work of Wencker, conducted under the patronage of the German Government and with the co-operation of some thirty thousand German schoolmasters and published, in part, in Wencker's *Sprachatlass*, marking the present boundaries of the German dialects of the lower and middle Rhine the commission appointed to establish the boundary line of German and French speech as spoken along the Franco-German border and the dialect studies in Switzerland represented in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* and the more recent collections of Swiss German texts found in Sutermeister's *Mundart-Literatur*, as well as related studies in the dialects of other German

provinces, all placed the Germans in the forefront of such philological and glottographical studies. Then followed meanwhile the mammoth plan of the *English Dialect Dictionary* under the editorship of Professor Wright, successor to the chair so long held by Professor Max Müller. In 1898 the following great societies of England,

The Anthropological Institute,
The Folklore Society,
The Society of Antiquaries of London,
The Royal Statistical Society,
The Dialect Society,
The Cambrian Archæological Society,
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,
The Royal Irish Academy,

united, under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in the projection of an "Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom," following up the work of the Photographic Survey of Birmingham and other places. This Survey contemplated the examination of some three hundred and fifty selected centres throughout the United Kingdom and issued circulars soliciting information concerning the following general subjects:

1. Physical Types of the Inhabitants.
2. Current Traditions and Beliefs.
3. Peculiarities of Dialect.
4. Monuments and Other Remains of Ancient Culture.
5. Historical Evidences as to Continuity of Race.

Closely related to the researches in the English dialects, a number of Americans organized the American Dialect Society for the purpose of studying American English. One of the officers of this Society, Professor George Hempl, set about the study of the territorial distribution of English dialects in the United States.

In April, 1902, the present writer presented the plan of an American Ethnographical Survey before the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society. The plan was definitely formulated and a sum of money was collected under the auspices of the German American Historical Society and the German American Alliance and an expedition was sent out during the summer of 1902 to investigate the history and condition of the German and other settlements of Pennsylvania and to furnish incidentally accurate data for an estimate of the cost of such a survey, extending over the entire State. The results of this survey were most gratifying and encouraged the representatives of the enterprise to present a bill asking for State aid to the amount of twenty thousand dollars to defray the expenses of an Ethnographical Survey of Pennsylvania. This bill, not appearing to have a commercial value, was stifled in the committee. Another opportunity, however, was offered by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Commission of the Jamestown Exposition (of which Governor Pennypacker was President) to incorporate some of the ideas of the Survey in the Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.

CHARACTER AND PLAN OF SURVEY.

The term "Ethnographical" instead of "Ethnological" was selected because the Survey has the clearly defined character of a *Culture Census*, and differs accordingly, from all preceding surveys both in aim and method. It will be admitted, doubtless, by most specialists in these lines, that much of the ethnological and ethnographical work done on both sides of the Atlantic has been more or less *antiquarian* in character with, to be sure, here and there many brilliant comparative studies of specific subjects. It will be noted that even the proposed Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, referred to above, selected certain central

points for its inquiry, instead of sweeping the entire territory of the relatively small compass of the British Isles, with a view to mapping and charting the speech and culture boundaries and overlappings. The American Ethnographical Survey, on the contrary, contemplates a sweeping and exhaustive examination by the census method of the entire territory selected and the collection of all available data relating to public and private documents, domestic occupations, trades and industries, geographical distribution of race elements, education, politics, and sociology, language, literature, architecture, and domestic life; and upon the basis of these data the construction of maps, charts, and tables, illustrating the migration and interaction of the several race elements in the American population and thus furnish a *culture census* of the country at large.

The terms "American," "American people," "American Nation," "American Commonwealth," are stupendous composites and mean something different in every State of the Union. There has been a strong tendency among writers of American History to treat the History of the United States as a more or less consistent whole. Fortunately special investigation is tending toward one of two extremes, namely, toward purely *documentary* history on the one hand or toward *antiquarian* local study on the other. It can hardly be said as yet that we have entered the field of *culture history* as a distinct science, save in the field of the aboriginal races. There is manifest to be sure an interest, more keen than well-informed, in the general race problems of America. Such works as Houston Stewart Chamberlain's recent study of the Heirs of the Ages, and Michaud's article in a recent volume of the *Century* are based either upon very general phenomena or upon insufficient data, so that both method and generalizations are often wide of the truth. The broad philosophical generalization is interesting in itself, but has no scientific value unless based upon specific and accurate and

minute data. The composite photograph presents an interesting picture as the camera reproduces composite types, but we have no evidence that such a composite has been or ever will be reproduced by the processes of natural generation. Nature reproduces varieties by processes as yet imperfectly understood and makes combinations by laws as yet only dimly apprehended and in all of her reproductive processes manifests a principle of evolution giving endless variety without perhaps a single case of exact duplication.

If we wish to know what the influences of a given race element or of a group of race elements in their interaction are in the process of naturalization, why should we go to those remote periods, which have left but scanty records of their events, while the greatest naturalization process the world has ever known is now going on before our eyes in our own land, offering an untold wealth of fact only awaiting the investigator? If we wish to trace the influence of the Jew upon the history of commerce, trade, and finance, the inexhaustible sources of material in American history furnish the inquirer with materials far richer than those scanty records of the Middle Ages. If we wish to test the persistence, endurance, commercial or industrial prowess or the state craft or intellectual fibre, the moral or physical character of a given nationality, where can it be more advantageously studied than in this seething cauldron, which is doing over the nationalities of the old world into the commonwealths and free republics of America?

It is a striking fact that we are relatively more thoroughly informed concerning the culture of the aboriginal races of America than about those more recent peoples, who have built up the life and institutions of the American Republic. Of these various nationalities which have planted the seeds of a new civilization in American soil and, by the blending of ethnical traditions, produced a type of civilization, which bids fair to outrank the venerable culture of the Old World, we have, at best, only general

documentary information. What accurate data have we in detail of the life even of the successors of the Puritans in New England, of the Cavaliers of Virginia, of the Dutch on the Hudson, of the Swedes on the Delaware, of the French in Louisiana and in the Mississippi Valley and in Canada, of the Spaniards in the South and Southwest, of the Germans, who have in the course of a century and a half grown to a tenth of our population, and in the various States of the Union engrafted a new culture upon our English stalk and bid fair in the near future to bring the great American Republic into cultural rivalry with the great German Empire? While we have scanty information of these older race elements in our population, we are still more scantily instructed as to the actual significance, tendencies, and possibilities of more recent immigrations, such as the Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Russian Jews, and hosts of others, who are now the main stays in many of our industrial interests.

It is well known that whole districts of many of our large cities are occupied by these newly imported foreign elements, speaking their own language, retaining their own habits of life, and, to all intents and purposes, forming miniature foreign settlements under the protection of the American flag. What do we know of the actual process by which these elements are Americanized? It is possible, that in the near future a President with a German, Italian or other foreign name may sit in the White House, just as now a Knickerbocker directs the Ship of State; but of the circuitous course leading from the Bowery, or the corner fruit stand, to Congress or the White House, we have as yet but an inadequate account.

Then, too, the relative efficiency of these race elements requires investigation. Their capacity for adaptation to new conditions is varied, their religious, moral, ethical, social, and political points of view are of the greater importance in the growth of American institutions. In a general way we are most ready to pass judgment and form generalizations upon the

relative merits of the respective nationalities, but it must be evident to every careful observer that present conditions alone are not safe indications of race tendencies which have developed during the course of one or more generations and that the real interpretation of the race propensities can be determined only by historical treatment of the life of these nationalities from and even before their arrival upon American shores.

CULTURE CENSUS.

It is doubtless sufficiently clear, that a thorough analysis and interpretation of the civilization of our American Republic cannot be made until a systematic plan for collecting data, both in the present and earlier periods has been inaugurated. The proposed American Ethnographical Survey presents such a plan. The work is to be conducted after the manner of a census, and to be divided into two separate problems, both of which could be solved at the same time.

The first phase of the work contemplated is a *Race Census*, representing the ethnical distribution and cultural characteristics of the population as it now exists; and upon the basis of the data thus collected the construction of an *Ethnographical Map*, showing not only the numbers of the several foreign elements, which can be gained roughly from the United States Census, but also the specific cultural features of these race elements, such as language, occupation, industrial distribution, as they actually exist.

The second phase of the survey consists in collecting, in connection with the census above mentioned, all available data for the reconstruction of the race conditions in the earlier periods of our history. One most important result of this work would be the construction of an Ethnographical Census of the colonial period, together with race maps showing the distribution of the foreign elements in different epochs of the colonial period,

thus furnishing the now missing census up to the time of the first systematic census made by the government.

In connection with this census and series of ethnographical maps it will be possible to show the causes influencing the geographical distribution of these various nationalities in the American colonies and to trace their migration, by the closer study of local geography and official and private documents, such as land warrants, deeds, tax lists, military rolls, and the like, and thus present graphically to the eye the results of the interaction of geographical industrial, commercial, and economic conditions in the respective periods and localities.

THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

THE CONESTOGA EXPEDITION, 1902.

In the summer of 1902 a preliminary test of this survey was made by the inauguration of the Conestoga Expedition. The work of the expedition was limited for the most part to those parts of interior Pennsylvania first settled by the Germans. The plan of work was to select a small territory, which could be compassed within the brief space of the vacation, and to make a thorough house-to-house canvass. Specific question blanks were prepared in advance, asking for the name of the owner or tenant, of the wife and the earlier members of both sides of the family, the origin of the respective branches of the family, the names and number of children, the type of house and barn, the present and traditional occupation of the family, the religious persuasion, the habit of dress, the political and social attitude, beliefs and superstitions, physical and other family traits, the language, the fare and mode of cooking, education, etc.

As a result of this thorough-going inspection a great mass of interesting and valuable material was collected and is now presented in brief form. From the data thus obtained, it is possible to make many generalizations.

In the settlement of a new country geography, both political and physical, plays an important rôle, determining to a great degree the distribution of the population. Political geography, in turn, often undergoes great changes in consequence of its own original determinative influence upon early settlement. The United States, as related in the colonial period to the geography of Spain, England and France, will furnish a good example of this. The Civil War, partly racial and social, and partly industrial and economical, will furnish another instance in which the attempt to change geographical boundaries proved futile. Indeed, the race factor, apart from the part of the negro, in the Civil War, still awaits adequate treatment. The influence of the Germans in forming the flame of abolition sentiment and in actually aiding in the victories of the North were most significant. The great force of the German press of America in the hands of men, who had themselves sought political liberty in the new Republic, was directed against the institution of slavery.

Physical Geography. The selection of a place of settlement is determined to a great extent by physical geography. The quality of the soil, the location of waterways, valleys and mountains—all influence. Accordingly the Conestoga Expedition found ample material, showing how these geographical forces had affected the distribution of race elements. In the fertile arable lands of the valleys were found the thrifty German farmers. In the mine regions, where iron and other ores made mining profitable in the colonial period, were found the Welsh. In the regions where distilling was in vogue was the Irishman. In the centres of industry and trade and on the frontiers of enterprise were found the Englishman, the Yankee and the Scotch Irishman.

The landmarks of these early settlements are still preserved in the local geography, in the names of persons and places.

Personal Names. It is a striking fact that the country regions, notwithstanding the flux and flow of population incident upon modern progress, have retained conservatively the names of the ealier families. The proportion of family names represented in the districts examined, was as follows:

IN THE TOWNSHIP.

Proportion of German names in 100....	79
Proportion of English, etc., names in 100.	19
Proportion of French names in 100.....	2
	<hr/>
	100

Place Names. In the case of place names the German was found in many instances still in local use, although the map no longer has any trace of the German name, but employs the more recent English instead. Of local names still found on the map and indicating original race settlements, the following are significant:

1. Names of foreign places whence the settlers came.—*Strasburg, Heidelberg, Manheim, Lititz, Lancaster, York, Little Britain, Caerenwon, Colcrainey, Dunmore, Cumberland, Donegal, Conroy.*
2. Names pointing to Biblical traditions of the sects.—*Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lebanon, Gnadenhütten, Emaus, Ephrata, Mt. Nebo, Bethesda; of also Eden, Providence, Paradise.*
3. Local Color. *Hosensack, Klafferthal, Hesseldal, German Valley, Grofsteddel, Habentown, Schafersteddel.*

CENSUS OF THE CONESTOGA EXPEDITION, 1902.

A preliminary report of the Conestoga Expedition was published in the first number of *GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS*, Jan. 1903. Since that time the statistics gathered have been collated and may be presented more in detail. It is the more opportune that these statistics should now take the form of an official report, since the work of the survey has found a wider recognition in

the State, in the appointment of its Director and Albert Cook Myers to prepare the Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907. What the original Conestoga Expedition inaugurated will thus, in an extended form, find expression in a series of historical maps, showing the movements and racial elements of the population of Pennsylvania and Western Maryland and the great valley of Virginia. To the results as represented in these maps, the independent studies of Mr. Myers in constructing maps showing frontier lines of settlement have been an important contribution.

The work of the Conestoga Expedition centered in the Conestoga and Pequea Valleys of Lancaster County, more particularly in the Township of Strasburg, of which a careful, cultural census was made, with a view to showing the actual survivals of the life of the original settlers, the statistics for which will be given farther on. In addition to these statistics, investigations were carried on in various directions throughout the country by the several members of the expedition. Much of this work is still going on, and will be published in more extended form when completed. Another member of the expedition, John A. Bole, made a thorough investigation at his own expense of the history of the German Community Settlement at Ecomemy, Pa., the results of which have been published in the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, and are reprinted in a volume of the Monograph Series, *Americana Germanica*.

CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH	STRASBURG TOWNSHIP
Families		233 ¹	335
Origin (as determined by census taker)	Man	German	141 242
		Swiss	16 16
		Other ²	48 52
	Wife	German	122 213
		Swiss	5 13
		Other	88 83

¹ Fifteen additional families were not examined for various reasons; three were negro families, three refused to give data, nine were away or were not seen for good reasons.

² Scotch, Irish, English, etc.

An American Ethnographical Survey

CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH		STRASBURG TOWNSHIP	
Origin (as known by the people them- selves)	{	German {	Families	28	87
			Individuals	38	
	{	Swiss {	Families	10	9
			Individuals	30	
Occupations	{		Farmers	41	222
			Carpenters	21	
			Painters	14	
			Laborers	12	
			Tobacco Workers	12	
			Cattlemen (Drovers, etc.)	7	
			Millers	6	
			Merchants (Storekeepers, etc.)	6	
			Bakers	5	
			Butchers	5	
			Bricklayers	5	
			Cabinetmakers	3	
			Druggists	3	
			Coach Painters	2	
			Shoemakers	2	
			Miners	2	
			Plasterers	2	
			Blacksmiths	2	
			Jewelers	2	
			Insurance Agents	2	
			Driver	1	
			Confectioner	1	
			Postmaster	1	
			Liveryman	1	
			Dressmaker	1	
			Veterinary	1	
			Minister	0	
			Brickmaker	0	
			Engineer	0	
			Plumber	0	
			Dentists	2	
			Tinsmiths	2	
			Wagonmakers	0	
			Coachmakers	2	
			Saddlers	3	
			Hotelkeepers	3	
			Contractor	1	
			Bank Cashier	1	
			Bank Tellers	2	
			Journalist	1	
			Masons	1	
			Weavers	1	
			Railroad Men	1	
			Coopers	2	
			Teachers	1	
			Presbyterian Clergyman	1	
			Methodist Clergyman	1	
			Sexton	1	
			Florists	1	
			Surveyor	1	

CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH		STRASBURG TOWNSHIP		
Religious Status	Methodists	{ Families . . .	45 ³		18	
		{ Individuals . .	18		12	
	Presbyterians	{ Families . . .	13		2	
		{ Individuals . .	20		8	
	Old Mennonites	{ Families . . .	18		78	
		{ Individuals . .	25		23	
	New Mennonites	{ Families . . .	15 ⁴		16	
		{ Individuals . .	9		⁵ 11	
	United Brethren	{ Families . . .	3		8	
		{ Individuals . .	2		13	
	Lutherans	{ Families . . .	11		12	
		{ Individuals . .	8		4	
	German Reformed	{ Families . . .	4		9	
		{ Individuals . .	0		0	
	Episcopalians	{ Families . . .	1		13	
		{ Individuals . .	1		0	
	Catholics	{ Families . . .	0		3	
		{ Individuals . .	2		0	
Quakers	{ Families . . .	0		1		
	{ Individuals . .	1		0		
Baptists	{ Families . . .	1		4		
	{ Individuals . .	1		1		
River Brethren (Dunkers)	{ Families . . .	0		6		
	{ Individuals . .	0		4		
Non-Communi- cants	{ Families . . .	20		67		
	{ Individuals . .	66		42		
Dress	{	Plain	37		96	
		Liberal	3		3	
		Worldly	9		0	
Superstition	{	Believe in the signs of the moon	27		19	
Powwowers		(Actual practioners)	8		4	
Politics	{	Vote	179		249	
		Do not vote	9		24	
Attitude on Social Ques- tions	{	Strict	{ Families . . .	66		107
			{ Individuals . .	13		0
	{	Liberal	{ Families . . .	88		57
			{ Individuals . .	8		0
Language	{	Speak Penna. Ger- man regularly	{ Families . . .	8		34
			{ Individuals	27		66
	{	Speak Penna. Ger- man occasionally	{ Families . . .	36		27
			{ Individuals	19		39
	{	Understand Penna. German	{ Families . . .	22		41
			{ Individuals	33		85
{	Speak English only	{ Families . . .	63		61	
		{ Individuals	46		75	
{	Speak High German	1		⁶ 4		

³ Fifteen families and four individuals of these Methodists were not connected with the New Mennonite families.

⁴ Seven of these were the female heads of the families.

⁵ Ten of these were female heads of the families.

⁶ Lately immigrated from Germany.

Schnitz un nepp	0	23
Fassnachts	76	81
Deitschakäs	0	5
Haffekäs	6	40
Kopkäs	9	35
Ballekäs	0	0
Schmirkäs	82	84
Lädwërk	24	74
Pannhäs	71	74
Sauerkraut	85	87

DIALECT WORDS, FAMILIA IN BOTH FORMS.

Bämgarde~bungert	
Blooge~zackere	
Fahrt~falder	
Förbë~förbau~förschusz	
dirche~dërche	
wëgelche~pädche	
Emer~kivel	
Dunkler~triver~	
Wolkicher (dag)	
Däfe~dunke	
Ladern~lützer	
Ebmöls~alsemöl	
Halfter~kopschtell	
Is~isch	
Ich (mr) dîn(e)~dün(e)	
diminutive— <i>li</i> or <i>che</i>	
 66 96

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATISTICS.

Ratio of Answers. It will be found that the total of answers given to the several questions is by no means equal to the number of families or individuals questioned. This is explained by the fact that in many cases the individuals did not know what to answer, or, because of the newness of the questions, were reluctant to answer them. The figures here given represent the answers which were recorded. While it was thus not possible to get absolute completeness under some rubrics, the figures obtained will prove valuable as indicating at least the proportions of the population represented in a certain rubric; as, for example, in the case of those who wear the plain dress, in which case it may be assumed that the remainder of the population wear the ordinary "worldly" dress. As this was an entirely private census, unauthorized by any official authority, it is surprising that so few families declined outright to answer the questions. More-

over, it is not to be supposed that refusal indicates an ignorant family; on the contrary, some of the most notable cases of refusal were met with in families of the highest intelligence in the township.

Size of Families. An account was also taken during the census of the number of living children in each family. These statistics show that the great majority of families had from two (2) to eight (8) children. In the borough there were only 27 families with but one child each, and 27 having two children each; 26 having 3 children each; 19, of 4 each; 14, of 5 each; 11, of 6 each; 3, of 7 each; 6, of 8 each; 4, of 9 each; 2, of 10 each; 1, of 11. In the township there were 41 families, of 1 each; 46, of 2 each; 38, of 3 each; 38, of 4 each; 21, of 5 each; 19, of 6 each; 17, of 7 each; 18, of 8 each; 5, of 9 each; 4, of 10 each; 2, of 11 each; 2, of 12 each. These figures give no immediate alarm of race suicide among the German descendants of this region.

Origin of Families. It will be noted that after summing up all the families whose origin has been determined, there remains a small percentage (something like a tenth) unaccounted for. This means that these families could not be traced directly to German, Swiss, Scotch, Irish, English, or Welsh origin from the data at hand. It is a striking fact that relatively few had personal knowledge, or even tradition of their origin. Compare, for example (in the borough), the 141 male heads of families, and 122 female, whose origin the census-taker determined to be German, with the 28 families and 38 individuals who knew that they were of German origin. This disparity shows a number of interesting facts. (1) How completely the early German settlers severed their tradition from the Fatherland. (2) The general laxity in keeping family records, particularly in the case of the quietistic sects. (3) The low grade of intelligence of the rank and file. The desire on the part of the masses to live an obscure, uneventful life, and the tendency to conceal their German origin in the case of those who came into touch with

public affairs, doubtless added to this indifference concerning their origin.

Occupation. The statistics show a surprising variety of trades and occupations, even in this isolated country district, and give a good impression of the complex character of even simple country life. It will be seen that about one-sixth of the residents of the borough is made up of farmers, not all of whom are retired farmers. We have here, doubtless, an instructive survival of the South German village life, for a number of these farmers in the borough still carry on their farms in the township, after the fashion of the South German peasant; except that in the case of Strasburg, the farms are vastly larger. As might be expected, many trades are confined to the borough. Nevertheless, the township is well supplied with such artisans as carpenters, shoemakers and blacksmiths. There was an unmistakable trace here of the German tradition of passing on the trade from one generation to the next, in the same family. The large number of children, however, made it necessary to take up other occupations. One of the most notable of these "hereditary" occupations is to be found in the case of a family which has for generations been noted for the best doctors in the country.

Religious Status. It is a most interesting fact that the Borough of Strasburg shows a close contest in point of numbers between the Old and New Mennonites on the one hand, and the Methodists and Presbyterians on the other. The Presbyterian influence is only such as can be easily explained by the presence of the Scotch Irish in the locality. The Methodists, however, have made actual conquest, taking over a number of members from original Mennonite families, it being a natural step from the tenets of the Mennonites to the beliefs of the Methodists, when once the plain dress and conservative Mennonite ways have been given up. The Mennonites were originally the dominant element in this locality, but their combined influence has been weakened by the organization of the New Mennonite Church. It will be

noted, however, that the Old Mennonites are still strong in the borough, even in this township, which represents a variety of other religious elements.

Dress. One of the most interesting things in the appearance of the country people of Lancaster County is their plain dress, which exhibits three different types; the Mennonite type, the still more primitive Amish type, and the Dunker type. In point of dress the borough is much less conservative than the township, having 37 adherents of plain dress as compared with 96 in the township. It is to be noted, however, that many families, particularly the female members, wear the plain dress, without being actual members of a plain sect. Indeed, a family misfortune is likely to force them from worldly habiliments into the churchly plain garb. It should not be concluded, however, that "plain" is synonymous with unattractive, for in the case of the young Mennonite maiden the Mennonite dress is highly becoming, and most attractive, allowing of a wide variety of color, and material, the "plainness" being confined to the pattern of the garments. Even among the "hook and eye" Amish, the young folks indulge in gay colors, thus relieving the monotonous externals of their patriarched life.

Superstition. The full extent of the persistence of superstition will appear in a separate treatise soon to be published by a member of the expedition. We only note here two or three of the most general forms of superstition. A considerable number of people still believe in the signs of the moon, and observe them in planting, sowing, butchering, and the like. As the statistics show, however, the percentage is relatively small, although on this point the answers are less trustworthy.

Powwowing. The most interesting survival of old superstitious folk customs is doubtless that of powwowing, called in Pennsylvania, German "Brauche." Strange as it may seem, even the most intelligent people have been known to turn from the practicing physician to the powwow doctor for treatment, particularly in such ailments as burns, chills, and especially in

cases of "abnemme" (marasmus), the cure of which seems to be one of the specialties of the pow-wower. As will be seen from the statistics, eight powwowers were found in the Borough of Strasburg alone, and four in the township, making a round dozen, one powwower to fifty families. Two kinds of powwowing were noted. One consisting of rubbing the parts affected, and repeating the spell without further formalities; the other of using potions made of herbs, etc., in connection with the treatment. These facts are sufficient to justify the general protest made by practicing physicians against the persistent practice of folk medicine, especially in the second form mentioned above.

Politics. The old prejudice against voting is fast disappearing. As the statistics show, a relatively small proportion refuse to vote. Among these are the ministers of the Mennonites and other plain sects. We have here a good example of the influence of economic interests overriding religious scruples. An interesting form of this is to be found in school politics, where some of the plain sects prove themselves quite equal to the tactics of the professional politicians. This is illustrated by the case of a school entirely in the hands of the sect. By skilful manipulation the school board was made up of members of the sect, the teacher was the son of one of the members, and the pupils seemed to be without exception from the same sect, as teacher and pupils alike all wore the plain garb.

Social Questions. The attitude of these people on social questions shows that there is a strong liberalizing process going on. The questions particularly inquired about for the statistics were *dancing, cards, theaters, circuses, and the like*. The census takers had not the courage to go very minutely into the question of drink. It was not necessary, however, to ask questions on this subject, as the thrift of the inns furnished ample evidence of liberality. As might be expected, the borough was relatively more liberal than the township in regard to social questions, although a considerable number, even of the country people, patronize the circus and even the theater, and multitudes attend

the county fair, which is often more demoralizing than either circus or theater.

Language. The most interesting feature, perhaps, in the life of these people is their language. A special effort was made in the census to collect accurate statistics on this subject. Inasmuch as the people are sometimes unwilling to admit that they speak the Pennsylvania German dialect, an effort was made by the census takers to find out indirectly to what extent the dialect was used. This could be done either by speaking the dialect to the people, or by inquiring as to the use of certain dialect words. The language data were taken under two heads: (1) The general use of language or dialect; (2) the special use of characteristic German dialect words. A comparison of the numerical results on the use of dialect in general will show that Pennsylvania German has almost ceased to be a regular family speech in the borough, but is still used by a considerable number of individuals, and, occasionally, by a still larger number of families; while in the township four times as many families and nearly three times as many individuals, use it as their daily speech, with a large contingent in both borough and township, who do not speak German, understand it when spoken. As the statistics show, the majority of the families in the borough, easily a fourth in the township, speak English only. How astonishingly slight the effect of later German immigration has been in this region can be seen from the fact that only one family in the borough, and four in the township were found still speaking high German which they had brought with them from the Fatherland; and even in the speech of the families living in the township there were strong traces of the Pennsylvania German dialect.

An interesting case of the influence of language was observed in an old native-born Pennsylvania German of Strasburg, who spoke the German Dialect perfectly, and English with perfect Irish accent. When asked where he acquired this Irish speech, he said he had learned it from Irishmen, who worked in his father's distillery, when he was a boy. These Irishmen corrected his Germanized English after their Irishized English norm.

Dialectal Variation. Considerable attention was given to variation in the German dialect of the German region, particularly of Lancaster County. A list of some 200 dialectal test words was collected, and from these a small list of some 15 characteristic words with their equivalents used as the basis of statistics in Strasburg town and township. It was found practically impossible to distinguish in favor of either of the dialectal equivalents in this particular locality, because, in the flux and flow of the population, both sets of words had become familiar, having been found in 66 cases in the borough and 96 in the township in indiscriminate use. An examination, however, over the counties of Lancaster, Lebanon and Berks, made it possible to determine varieties in the so-called Pennsylvania German dialect. These results will appear in print later in the form of a dialect dictionary, which is now in preparation.

Surviving German Dishes. One of the indelible marks which the old German life has left in Pennsylvania, and even other parts of the country, is the survival of a number of distinctly German forms of food. Borough and township alike, in our census, show the persistence of these German dishes in the fare of the present day. In the borough, four articles competed for the supremacy: Sauerkraut, made in 85 cases; schmierkase, found in 82 cases; fassnachts, 76 cases; pannhaus, 71 cases; as compared with 87 sauerkraut, 84 schmierkase, 81 fassnacht, and 74 pannhaus, in the township. It will be noted further that "*lad-zerck*" (apple butter) has only about one-third of the vogue in the borough that it has in the country, which is explained by the lack of facilities in town for the preparation of it. In addition to these great German staples of Pennsylvania food, a number of minor cheeses were noted as having vogue, such as "*haffekase*," represented by 6 in the borough and 50 in the township; "*kop-käs*," 9 in the borough and 35 in the township; and "*deutsche-käs*," 5 in the township. In the case of the favorite old German dish of "*schmitz un' nepp*," it was found that the dish survived only in the township, where 23 cases were recorded, although, no doubt, occasionally even the denizens of the borough indulge in this venerable German dainty!

CHART OF SURVEYS OF LAND ON PEQUEA CREEK,

MADE BY JACOB HILDEBRAND,

OF STRASBURG, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA,

(Tracing from the Original.)



LIST OF SURVEYS AND CHART MADE BY THE LATE JACOB HILDEBRAND, ESQ.,
OF STOSBERG.

	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
1	London Co.	1800	6-25	1718	A	5	306	Par.
2	Martin Kendig	1000	6-30	1711	A	4	229	Stras. & L.
3	John R. Bundle	500	6-30	1711	A	4	231	W. L.
4	John Funk	500	6-30	1711	A	4	232	Stras. & L.
5	Christopher Franciscus	500	6-30	1711	A	4	233	W. L.
6	Jacob Miller	1000	6-30	1711	A	4	239	Stras. & W. L.
7	Amos Strettle	3380	Warrant 7-16-1712 in right of George Shore (deed 1682).					
8	Ch. Herr	500	6-30	1711	A	4	236	W. L.
9	John Herr	500	6-30	1711	A	4	238	
10	" "		8-10	1711				
11								
12								
13	Martin Kendig	800	12-31	1714	A	5	264	
14								
15	John Funk	250	5-31	1715	A	5	148	W. L.
16	John Evans	1000	9-16	1716	A	5	203	E. L.
17	Isaac Lefever	300	11-16	1717				
18			11-21	1176	A	5	190	Str. & E. L.
19								
20	Hans Hower	300	2-18	1717	A	5	282	Str. & E. L.
21	Peter Beller	250	3-15	1717	A	5	289	E. & W. Lamp.
22	Daniel Feree	600	3-25	1717	A	5	228	Str. & E. La.
23	" "	100	3-25	1717	A	5	228	Prov.
24	Alvah Duboys	1000	5-7	1717	A	5	214	Str. Lamp & Leacock.
25	Isaac Lefever	300	9-16	1717	A	5		Str.
26	Henry Funk	350	9-30	1717	A	6	156	
27	Daniel Harman	450	12-30	1717	A	5	273	Str. E. & W. Lamp.
28								
29								
30								
31	Hans Groff	300	6-16	1718	A	5	316	W. L.
32	London Co.	5553	6-25	1718	A	5	306	E. & W. L.
33								
34								
35								
36								
37								
38								
39								
40	John Hare	1100	9-25	1728	A	6	77	Str. Par. & E. L.
41	Samuel Taylor	1300	11-21	1728	A	6	70	Str.
42	Peter Leaman	300	12-29	1728	A	6	173	E. L.
43								
44								
45	Michael Dinnegar . . .	300	5-3	1733	A			Str. & E. L.
46	John Steer	200	3-20	1734	A	6	106	
47	Daniel Ferree	308	10-29	1734	A	7	321	Par. & Leacock.
48	D. Ferree & Isaac Lefevre .	2300	10-29	1734	A	7	313	Par. & Leac.
49							319	

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	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
50	James Smith		11-29	1734	A		12	E. L.
51	Peter Leaman	400	3-26	1735	A	7	173	E. L.
52	Thomas Green	200	11-6	1735	A	7	322	Par.
53								
54								
55	Jacob Groff	400	5-10	1736	A	7	543	Str. & Prov.
56	John Taylor	1144	6-24	1736	A	7	552	Str. & Prov.
57	Thom. Smith	152	7-23	1736	A	8	204	Str. & Prov.
58	" "	355	" "	" "	" "	" "		Bart & Eden.
59								
60								
61	Thom's Green	250	7-8	1737	A	8	285	Str. & Salisburg.
62								
63	Shadrack Scarlat	175	9-15	1737	A	8	155	
64								
65	John Musgrove	171½	12-12	1739				Par.
66								
67								
68								
69	George Mackrel	120	7-14	1741	A	12	285	Par.
70								
71	Charles Birket	58	12-6	1742	A	11	246	Par.
72	William Young	190	12-29	1742	A	15	293	Par.
73	Rankin	190	12-29	1742	A	15	20	Par. & Sal.
74								
75	Samuel Patterson	210	10-19	1743	A	13	102	Par.
76	Samuel Blyth	126	4-18	1744	A	12	98	Par. Leac. & Sal.
77	Henry Kendrick	110½	9-20	1744	A	11	406	Str.
78	John Bowman	147	9-20	1744	A	12	147	Str.
79	John Feree	156	11-14	1744	A	12	166	Leacock.
80	Roger Dyer	191	1-15	1745	A	12	293	Paradise.
81	Jacob Light	200	10-14	1745	A N. 1, H.	24.		Par.
82								
83								
84	John Rush	173	11-3	1746	A	12	455	Str.
85								
86	John Feree	50	10-6	1742	A	10	492	Par.
87			6		A	14	100	
88	John Herr	203	10-25	1748	Warrant	5, Oct., 1748.		Str.
89	James Welsh	192	6-27	1750	A	14	491	Str. & Sadsbury.
90	John Liggit	245½	8-15	1750	A	15	428	Par. & Bart.
91	" "	65	" "	" "	" "	" "		Bart.
92	Jacob Brewer		4-11	1750	A	15	374	Par.
93								
94	John Rush Deed	164	6-8	1752	A	17	107	Str.
95	John Feree	50	10-19	1752	A	17	154	Par.
96	Matthias Slaymaker	147	11-17	1752	A	16	274	Par.
97	John Edman	73	5-12	1752	A	17	104	Str.
					Warrant	same day.		
98	Ulrick Sharick	102	10-9	1753	A	16	509	Par.
99	Jacob Beam	221	6-3	1757	A	19	235	Eden.
100	Peter Taylor	172½	3-17	1760	A	19	150	Par.
101	John Taylor	196	3-18	1760	A	19	154	Par.
102	John Shirts	285	8-19	1761	AA	1	50	Par.
103	John & Christian Herr	500	5-5	1761	AA	1	254	W. L.
104	Isaac Whitelock	320	6-17	1761	AA	1	542	Str.

	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
105	John Feree	49½	1-25	1762	AA			Par.
106	Henry Herr	318¾	5-24	1762	AA	3	296	Prov.
107	George Lutz	123	9-24	1762	AA			Para.
108	Jacob Shirts	176	9-25	1764	AA	5	653	Par.
109	George Smith	109¼	12-17	1764	AA	6	110	Strasb.
110								
111								
112	Jacob Kendrick	20	9-22	1767	AA	10	40	Strasb.
113	Henry Stoner	172½		1767	AA	8	228	Strasb.
114	Jacob Eshleman	34½	4-22	1768	AA	100	345	Para.
115	John Moser	89¼	1-25	1768	AA	10	243	Strasb.
116	Jacob Ashleman	11¾	4-22	1768	AA	10	347	Strasb.
117	Jacob Eshleman	42¼	4-22	1768	AA	10	349	Strasb. & Par.
118	Jacob Eshleman	91 ^{6.7}	4-22	1968	AA	10	349	Strasb. & Par.
119	Jacob Eshleman	58½	4-22	1768	AA	10	350	Strasb. & Par.
120	Martin Kendrick, Deed	15 ^{2.6}	10-29	1768	AA	11	31	Strasb.
121								
122								
123	John Miller	51½	11-30	1769	AA	11	192	Strasb.
124	John Brackbill	133	11-30	1769	AA	12	141	Strasb.
125								
126	Jacob Brua	47	5-31	1770	AA	14	318	Para.
127	Henry Denlinger	71	5-31	1770	AA	14	317	Para.
128	Benjamin Groff	38¾	4-24	1770	AA	11	293	Para.
129								
130								
131	Benjamin Groff	88	1-15	1774	AA	14	99	Strasb.
132	William Boyd	167½	5-20	1774	AA	14	348	Eden
133	John Eckman	145	11-26	1774	AA	14	773	Strasb.
134								
135	James Scott	97	5-10	1776	AA	15	692	Strasb.
136	H. Stoner or C. Berman	26	12-12	1776	AA	16		Strasb.
137								
138								
139	T. & W. Montgomery	208	3-2	1784	A N 2	346		Bart, Eden & Par
140	John Black	171	1 H	1785		3		Eden
141	Herman Skiles	173¾	7-31	1787	A N 11	34		Par.
142	Joseph Feree	124	1-6	1788		311	563	Par.
143	Henry Kendrick	148	8-19	1798		13	804	Strasb. & Eden
144								
145	John Herr	194	3-13	1784		13	470	Str. & Eden
146								
147								
148	Sam'l Houston	45	1-6	1790		16	121	Par.
149	Christ Hartman	173¾	7-9	1790		16	325	Eden.
150								
151								
152	Joseph Moser	110	2-27	1794		20	290	Strasb.
153								
154	John Eckman	48		1795				"
155								
156	David Witmer	175	5-22	1797		33	84	"
			Nearby to	Ida Graham	east of Mrs. Scott.			
	Jacob Sheets	64¾	6-7	1802		36	622	Bart.
158	Ulrick Keneagy	47¼	6-8	1802		36	622	Par.
159	George Trout	161	11-12	1802		48	130	Par.
160	Baltzer Borkman	221	9-4	1805				

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	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
161	Baltzer Borkman . . .	135	9-17	1805		56	67	
162	Feree Daniel . . . 119 & 110		3-13	1807		59	326	Par.
163	John Hutley, Heus . . .	22¼	8-6	1807		61	108	Strasb.
164	John Camachen . . .	143	10-11	1811				Str. & Bart.
			8-15	1815				
165	Jacob & M. Fortz . . .	94¾	10-21	1838	Asketer	Eden.		Str. & Eden.
	Eden . . .	112	3-22	1842				
166	Samuel Hathern . . .	232	11-2	1809	Will Hielt	1-26	1733	Eden.
	I. Foutz	{ 148	4-19	1810	} Office Draft.			
		{ 47 ^{9.1}	2-21	1810				Str. & Eden.
168	Conrad Hook	101½	12-12	1810	H	4	395	Strasb.
169	Joseph Barber	193	3-28	1810	H	2	272	Str. & W. La.
170	Henry Diefenbach . . .	8 ^{13.0}	5-27	1811	H	5	755	Eden } North
171	Henry Metz	77 ⁹	2-4	1811	H	5	348	Eden } End.
172	Jacob Fritz	89 ^{3.2}	7-11	1811	H	6	223	Eden.
173	John Neff	78 ^{3.9}	1-22	1812	H	8	13	Strasb.
174	Chr. Leaman	90 ^{3.1}	1-5	1816	H	12	310	Bart.
175	John Heidlebach . . .	52 ^{13.6}	10-9	1819	H	17	164	Para.
176	Joseph Kinkade	117	11-6	1835	H	35	211	Bart.
177	Sam Peoples	45 ^{13.7}	5-5	1813	H			Strasb.
178	Francis Boumart	118 ^{13.6}	8-22	1810	H	4	296	"
179	Rob. Posten	47 ^{9.6}	2-21	1810	H			
180	Christ. Yardy	264 ^{11.6}	4-9	1810	H	2	335	Eden.
181	I. P. Echternach	196¼	9-20	1871	H	69	719	Str. & P.
	Tract Frederick White	112 ^{9.5}	10-14	1871	H	68	714	Par.
182	Isaac Giniss	112 ^{9.5}	10-14	1871	H	68	714	"
183	H. F. Trout & H. Neff	50 ^{8.1}	5-21	1872	H	70	407	Strasb.
	D. W. Jackson	136 ^{1.6}	4-17	1873	H	71	682	Bart.
	Bushong	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	Mr. Winters &							
	Peacock & Thomas.	50 ^{15.9}	9-4	1873	H	72	228	Par.
	John Brackbill	116 ^{5.0}	10-11	1809	H	1	470	Mash R.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT.

Receipts by subscriptions		\$745.00
Expenditures	{ Equipment	\$ 35.00
	{ Traveling	207.25
	{ Board, etc.	292.83
	{ Photographing	91.09
	{ Printing and Typewriting	86.46
	{ Stationery	23.90
		<hr/>
		\$736.53
Balance		<hr/>
		\$ 8.47

M. D. LEARNED, Director.

AN OLD GERMAN MIDWIFE'S RECORD.

(Kept by SUSANNA MÜLLER, of Providence Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, during the years 1791-1815).

Edited by M. D. LEARNED and C. F. BREDE.

Susanna Müller, the midwife who kept the following record of her practice between the years 1791 and 1815, was born March 16, 1756, and died November 22, 1815. She was the daughter of John Rohrer, who resided near Lampetre, and the wife of Peter Müller, who came from Switzerland at the age of 16 and went to work as a hired man for John Rohrer. After their marriage, Peter Müller and his wife, Susanna, settled in Providence Township. Accounts are still current of the wildness of this region as they found it in the later years of the 18th century, and the descendants still have traditions* of the conflicts of their pioneer parents with the wilderness, with the stones and heavy timber and particularly with the rattlesnakes. Even Lancaster itself, the central point in the county, was at that time, known as "Hickory-town."** Many of the old houses still surviving in Lancaster

*The chief authority for these traditions is Susanna's grandson, Benjamin Miller, of Lancaster, Pa.—M. D. L.

**So called because the first landlord had his tavern under or hardby a big hickory.—F. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

and elsewhere preserve the primitive type of log structure with high-pointed gable, typical of the architecture of the early settlers.

Peter Müller and Susanna began their career in the present township of Providence. The simple log-house in which they lived is still standing. At a later period, after the death of Susanna, an additon was made to the house. The accompanying cut shows the combined structure with the original log-house in the foreground, recently weatherboarded, as it appears at the present day. This house was typical in many ways. The lower part is constructed of stone and was for a long time used as a still by Peter Müller. In this still were distilled whiskey from the corn and rye of the farm. In addition to whiskey, other products were distilled, such as apple jack from apples, peach brandy from peaches, cherry bounce from cherries, oil of sassafras from the sassafras root, oil of peppermint from the peppermint plant, oil of pennyroyal from the pennyroyal plant.

There is a tradition that these early Pennsylvania German farmer-distillers extracted alcohol also from the potato, thus anticipating the newly discovered industry, which is now attracting the attention of their later kinsman across the sea, and is receiving the encouragement of the German Emperor himself.

A story is still current in the family that Peter Müller, 2nd, son of Peter Müller and Susanna, not having sufficient rye to keep the still going, distilled at one time 60 oz. of oil of peppermint, which he sold to an apothecary in Philadelphia. The description of this trip to Philadelphia gives an interesting picture of travel in Pennsylvania three-quarters of a century ago. Peter Müller, having packed his 60 oz. of oil of peppermint in flasks in his saddle-bags, started early in the morning and with his "running horse" reached Philadelphia the night of the same day. The next morning he took his oil of peppermint to the apothecary, sold it for \$60.00 cash, mounted his "running horse" and arrived at his

home in Providence Township, a distance of 70 miles, before the end of the second day. Thus in less than 48 hours this Pennsylvania German distiller had covered a distance of nearly 140 miles on horseback and delivered his load of peppermint oil, to the value of \$60.00.

This is but one of countless instances of how the thrifty German farmer of Pennsylvania, seventy years ago, wrested a living not only from the fruits of the tilled soil but from the incidental products of the meadows and roadside as well. Indeed, so profitable was this product of peppermint, that Peter Müller even planted large patches of it, covering an acre or more of ground, which still survive in spots to the present day.

Among the survivals that still bespeak the frugal thrift of these early Germans are, in addition to the house and still already mentioned, the old "bake-oven," a number of interesting domestic utensils, particularly the old wooden bench, old husk-work basket. Most interesting of all is the old spring on the hillside, which furnished the family with drinking water. This spring was called, in contradistinction to the other springs about the premises, the "Good Spring," because it sent forth an unceasing flow of refreshing water. This old spring is reproduced in the cut, showing sticks at the sides supporting the cover and Benjamin Miller, grandson of the great midwife Susanna Müller, in the foreground.

The housewife, however, as well as the man of the family, was active in assisting in earning a livelihood and Susanna was no exception to this rule. She found in the practice of midwifery, a very lucrative profession for those days of frugal living in the country. She was a systematic country doctor in her particular line, having her own swift trusty horse and not relying on the irregularities incident upon the conveyances of her patients. She was ready at any moment of the day or night to answer a call from any part of the surrounding country. Her descendants still relate how she would order her sturdy horse, mount him (for she rode horseback) and give the messenger, who came for her, a lively chase in reach-

ing the home of the patient. Where Susanna learned her practice, we are not informed. It must be remembered, however, that the midwife of those days was far more important in the practice of obstetrics than the physician himself, and in the case of Susanna, tradition still relates how she had the confidence of the best physicians in the city of Lancaster as well as of the people of the surrounding country. One instance related is that in a certain case where she was called to assist Mrs. O'Brien. Susanna thought she detected some anatomical irregularity in the case, and despatched at once the quickest messenger to Lancaster to consult a physician. It was in the middle of the night and the doctor inquired of the messenger who was attending the case. Upon hearing that Susanna Müller was in attendance, he at once replied, "Then it is all right, she knows as much about the case as I do." She proceeded with the case and brought it to a successful issue.

This "Record" of Susanna is a testimonial to the accuracy of her method and the business-like manner in which she conducted her practice. She kept a record of the cases which she attended, giving (1) the dates, (2) number of children, (3) name of the family and (4) price received in pounds, shillings and pence. This old Record is kept in a quaint Pennsylvania German speech with rugged traditions of a rudimentary German education. On the margin of the Record, are written extracts from hymns and from the Bible, thus showing that she was a pious woman, entering upon her duties with a most serious concern for the successful performance of the same. These citations, in the original, extend up and down the right margin of the manuscript, but are printed here, for convenience, at the bottom of the page.

The Record preserves, in addition to the interesting facts of her practice, many important incidental facts, such, for example, as the names of the different families which she attended, among whom were a great many of Scotch-Irish origin. Her reproduction of these names with German transcription is, in the main, most accurate, showing that she was

scrupulously careful to preserve the exact sound as she was able to remember it. In printing the Record, these names—where the German orthography offers any difficulty—have been transcribed with the probable English equivalents, and these equivalents are enclosed in brackets for the information of the uninitiated reader. Susanna employed the current form of German for *boys* and *girls*—*huben* and *med*. The Record is written almost entirely without capitals, and even the dialectal coloring of the names, as spoken in her locality, is reproduced with great faithfulness in her orthography, such as *tschims*=vulgar *Jeemes* for *James*.

The following forms of the names of the months are used :

jenner, januarius, januari	iuli, iulius
hornung, february, februarii	augustus
mertz, märtz	sebdember, september
abril, abril	ocdober, october
mai, meius, maius	november, nafember
iuni, iunius	december.

The Record distinguishes individuals by the following epithets (set off by comma in print, but written without comma in the MS.):

neger=negro	jung=der jüngere=Jr.
gros=der grosse	deidschlendr=native German
glein=der kleine	christlos=unbeliever
aldr=der ältere=Sr.	

On some pages the date precedes the mark for number of children, on other pages the date follows the mark for number of children :

<i>e. g.</i>	Abrill and Abril
1 1	1 1
4 1	1 4
6 1	1 6

The Record has suffered much from the ravages of time. After various vicissitudes, it finally came into the hands of Mr. Benjamin Miller, of Lancaster, and was presented by him to his niece, Mrs. Sarah Eret, of Strasburg, who now has the original and who kindly allowed the Expedition to copy, photograph and print it.

In passing into different hands, a part of the Record has been lost. As it now survives, it consists of a more or less continuous account of all the cases from 1795 to 1815. There are, however, in the account, a number of breaks, as will be seen from the following calendar, which shows where the breaks occur. There remains one page of the Record which has not been located and is printed at the end. In addition to the Record, there were three leaves summarizing the cases which Susanna attended. From this summary, it will be seen that her practice began in 1791 or 1792, whereas the Record does not begin until 1795. This may indicate either that she did not keep a full record of the first three or four years or that this earlier part of the Record has been lost. In any case, we are thankful for what has survived. The photograph facsimile of typical pages of the Record will show the antique appearance of the manuscript as it now exists.

It cannot be said of Susanna, that she neglected the responsibilities of the wife and mother for those of the midwife. She was the mother of seven* children, five daughters—Mary (Polly), Katharine (Katie), Susan (Susie), Nancy, Elizabeth (Lizzie)—two sons, Peter and one who died in infancy. Two of the daughters, Susan, who married Jacob Krider, and Nancy, who married George Tangert, took up the practice of midwifery, but neither attained the fame of their mother.

It is not surprising that this extraordinary woman should have left an impression upon her own time as upon after generations. Accordingly, we find the record of her practice preserved in her epitaph. According to this inscription, she attended 1667 cases; and while this record evidently does not represent all the cases she attended, it is nevertheless based upon her own summary, and seems to have been made out after her death. The epitaph of Susanna is reproduced in the accompanying cut.

* The epitaph read "8 Tochter," three of whom seem to have died in infancy, as only five names survive.—M. D. L.

1795 iener.		abril.	
1 1	hans herr o. 7.6	4 1	abraham huber o. 15.0
9 1	tshims berns o. 7.5	5 1	den golr
	[James Burns]*		[Dan Kohler [or Gole?] Cully?]
14 1	frider keberle o. 7.6	12 1	iacob breneman o. 15.0
18 2	hans gillener o. 7.6	13 1	aron megfen o. 11.3
19 1	iost glinden o. 7.6		[Aaron McFan?]
26 1	ana beyerin o. 7.6	17 1	hans gertner o. 7.6
februarius.		meius	
6 1	henrich herr o. 7.6	13 1	daniel herr o. 11.3
16 1	henrich mogelrei o. 7.6	23 1	tshims bleer o. 8.3
	[Henry McElroy]		[James Blair]
21 1	bile schnorgres o. 7.6		iunius.
	[Billy Snodgrass]		
21 1	hans müller o. 15.0	1 1	iacob resler o. 8.3
27 1	den golacher o. 15.0	4 1	tshims mogeluben o. 11.3
	[Dan Gallagher]		[James McKelvey?]
mertz.		28 1	iacob harnis o. 7.6
2 1	andreas rabunsle o. 7.6		iulius.
4 1	dam wilsen o. 7.6		
7 1	raberd wilsen o. 7.6	19 1	henrich leim o. 7.6
13 1	tshims mogelerger o. 7.6		augustus
	[James McGallagher]		
17 2	fridrich grug o. 7.6	1 1	hans fargersen
18 1	giorg getz o. 7.6		[Hans Furgason]
18 1	giorg witman	3 1	hans gerten
21 1	hans frelich o. 8.3		
ales was mein dun und anfang ist das gesche im namen iesu christ der steh mihr bey frih und schpad bisz all mein dun ein ende had			

*Most of the Scotch-Irish and English names are found in tax-lists of Martie and Providence Townships.—M. D. L.

5 1 bile elet o. 7.6
[Billy Elliotte or Eliet?]

7 1 hans wisler o. 3.9
[Hans Wisler]

11 1 adam mohr o. 7.6
Adam Moore]

15 1 henrich roth 1. 15.0

september

7 2 iacob hart o. 7.6

21 1 henrich gebhart 15.0

20 1 abraham gochenauer o. 7.6

20 1 hans eligsender o. 7.6
[Hans Alexander]

ocdober

6 1 conrad cahrman o. 7.6

6 1 henrich bauman o. 8.3

15 1 iacob keberle o. 7.6

16 1 berne dacherde
[Burny Dougherty]

20 1 daniel diug? o. 7.6
[Daniel Duke]

31 1 aebi brid o. 7.6
[Aby Breed]

1795 nafember

3 1 bile dugles o. 7.6
[Billy Douglas]

9 1 iacob braun o. 7.6

december

15 1 williem medier o. 15.0
[William Mateer]

17 1 iacob schif o. 7.6

20 1 henrich huber o. 7.6

25 1 daniel hes o. 7.6

28 1 hans mergele o. 7.6

1796 ienuarius

1 1 hans gut 16.6

10 1 iacob bledscher o. 7.6
[Jacob Blecher?]

19 1 falendein hart o. 7.6

20 1 alfert sinet o. 7.6

21 1 michel bidschen 1. 2.6
[——— Pidgeon]

30 1 alfert galwel 1. 10.0
[Alfred Caldwell]

februarius.

2 1 henre dugles o. 15.0
[Henry Douglas.]

6 1 giorg steiner o. 15.0

8 1 iacob mergele o. 11.3

16 1 meig stier o. 7.6

[Mike ——]
28 1 peter gremer o. 7.6

mertz

7 1 martin ber o. 7.6

gnade sei mit euch und friede an Gott unserem Vatter und dem herrn iesu christo — — —

wier danken gott allezeit für euch alle und gedenken eurer in unserem gebe ohn underlas

8	1	daniel gruber	o. 7.6		august	
13	1	iacob werstel	o. 7.6			
18	1	hans kindig	o. 7.6	13	1	hans breneman o. 8.3
21	1	giorge ieger	o. 7.6	16	1	hans gachren o. 7.6
		[George Yeager]				[Hans Cochran]
31	1	tschims schnorgres	o. 7.6	29	1	daniel maresen 1. 2.6
						[Morrison]
		abril.			september	
4	1	henrich resch	o. 15.0			
9	1	robert miller	o. 7.6	13	1	daniel moser o. 15.0
20	1	elig lemen				
24	1	martin huber	1. 2.6			
27	1	giorge fehl	o. 7.6			october
		[— Fail]				
29	1	daniel berdel	o. 7.6	1	1	henrich herr o. 11.3
		[Daniel Bartel]		5	1	hans huber o. 7.6
				20	1	bill hemeldon o. 7.6
		mey				[Bill Hamilton]
17	1	giorg mergle	o. 7.6			november
17	1	susana robinsen	o. 15.0			
		[Susanna Robinson]		16	1	deb. golr [or Gole?] o. 11.3
20	1	iost mone	o. 8.0			[Deb(ora) Kohler or Cully?]
				26	1	hans kege o. 15.6
		iunius				[Hans Kegy or Keagy]
7	1	henrich gleimman	o. 7.6			
		[— Clemmen(s)]				december
		iulius		10	1	hans hart 1. 10.0
				11	1	henrich breneman 1. 10.0
25	1	hans herris	o. 15.6	25	1	iames nill o. 15.0
		[Harris]				[Thomas Neal]
31	1	tschims mele[— Mayley]				

seyd allezeit frölich betet ohne underlass
 seyð dankbar in allen dingen, denn das ist der wille gottes in christo iesu an euch
 den geist dämpfet nicht die weisagung verachtet nicht
 prüfet aber ales und das gute behaltet meidet allen bösen schein.

1797 ienuari.

7 1	frantz hameldon	o. 7.6
	[Franz Hamilton)	
8 1	abraham blender	o. 7.6
25 1	adam mohr	o. 7.6

februarius

6 1	henrich roth	1. 11.8
12 1	hans miller	1. 2.6
17 1	lisabet fritz	o. 7.6
25 1	iur rube	o. 16.6

[Hughey Ruby]

Mertz

7 1	hans leche	
18 1	peter gremer	o. 8.3
	[Peter Krämer]	
19 1	abraham huber	o. 15.0
24 1	fridrich braun	o. 7.6

abril

4 1	bile sibrug	o. 7.6
	[Billy Seabrook]	
10 1	hans spens	o. 11.3
	[Hans Spence]	

17 2	frenr behr	o. 7.6
24 1	frider keberle	o. 7.6

meias

19 1	dewald borman	o. 15.0
	[Duval? ———]	
30 1	henrich mogelrei	o. 7.6
	[Henry McElroy]	

iunius

9 1	barbra hes	o. 3.9
-----	------------	--------

iulius

24 1	den gruber	o. 10.0
31 1	tschims magelergen	o. 11.3
	[James McGallagher]	

august

3 1	bile dugles	
	[Billy Dougles]	
18 1	conrad borman	o. 7.6
21 1	ned medwig	o. 11.3
	[Ned Madwig]	
23 1	iacob harnis	o. 7.6
29 1	peter resle	o. 7.6

september

1 1	filb miller	o. 15.0
	[Philip ———]	
15 1	abraham gochnauer	o. 7.6

der herr segne euch und behüde euch
 der herr erleichde sein angesicht über euch
 und sey euch gnedig
 der herr erhebe sein andlitz auf euch
 und gebe euch seinen frieden Amen.

17	1	wiliam grafert	o. 7.6	1798.	ienuari	
		[William Crawford]				
29		henrich huber	o. 7.6	5	1	iacob steiner 1. 2.6
				27	1	iorneles kuhn o. 7.0
		october		31	1	falendein hart
						[Valentine Hart]
	1	1	cristle marde o. 11.3	31	1	efa miller
16	1	fridrich fry	o. 7.6			
18	1	bile schorgres	o. 7.6			februarius
23	1	giorg mergle	o. 11.3			
25	1	iacob werfel	o. 7.6	7	1	daniel berdol o. 8.3
26	1	den diug	o. 7.6	12	1	herman albrecht o. 7.6
		[Dan Duke]		23	1	hanş loreins o. 7.6
		november				mertz
	3	1	iacob frids o. 11.3	9	1	giorg meils o. 11.3
	9	1	andreas echdenachd o. 8.3			[George Miles]
14	1	tschims glerg	o. 15.0	20	1	fridrich grug o. 7.6
		[James Clark]		23	1	iost miller
20	1	hans huber		25	1	hanns borg ? o. 11.3
21	1	Michel stier	o. 7.6			
24	1	tschims bleer	o. 7.6			abril
		[James Blear or Blair]				
28	1	giorge ratfang	o. 15.0	17	1	hans leche
28	1	iacob gergen	o. 15.0			
30	1	iacob schumacher	o. 7.6			mey
		december		19	1	henrich ries o. 7.6
	5	1	hannes mergle o. 7.6			iunius
11	1	marde huber	1. 2.6			
16	1	iost mane [Mone]	o. 7.6	7	1	abraham miller o. 15.0
22	1	iacob braun	o. 7.6	9	1	frans hens o. 7.6
				12	1	hans mohr o. 7.6

er aber der gott des friedens heilige euch durch und durch und euer
geist ganz samt der sele und leib müse behalten werden unsträfllich auf
die zukunft unsern herrn iesu christi liebe brüder betet für uns.

25	1	mardin behr	o. 7.6		november		
27	1	tschims bers	o. 11.3				
		[James Burns?]		4	1	bile begster	o. 15.0
28	1	hannes marde	o. 7.6			[Billy Baxter]	
		iulius		11	1	arlig leflr	o. 7.6
				16	1	hans dugles	o. 7.6
				19	1	hans megomre	o. 7.6
9	1	iacob fautz	o. 15.0			[Hans Montgomery]	
26	1	fridrich schuman	o. 7.6	27	1	iost glerg	o. 7.6
						[Jost Clark]	
		augustus					
						december	
12	1	hans miller	o. 17.6				
13	1	robert wüls	o. 7.6	10	1	maria gneisler	1. 10.0
		[Robert Wells]		30	1	iost miller	o. 7.6
15	1	hans kege	1. 2.6				
		[Hans Keagy]					
18	1	ben eschleman	o. 7.6			1799 ienauari	
24	1	iacob bledscher	o. 7.6				
27	1	hans rid	o. 15.0	14	1	iacob fritz	o. 7.6
		[Hans Reed]		18	1	iacob kindig	o. 7.6
29	1	henrich herr	o. 7.6	19	1	filb. miller	o. 15.0
				27	1	samuel schwann	o. 7.6
		september					
						februarius	
3	1	ridscherd tschons	o. 15.0				
		[Richard Jones]		2	1	hans rein	o. 7.6
17	1	iacob schof		15	1	iacob rohrer	o. 15.0
24	1	hans bachman	o. 15.0	16	2	herman albrecht	o. 3.9
30	1	aron megfen	o. 11.3	18	1	christle miller	o. 15.0
		[Aaron McFan]					
		ocdober				februari	
5	1	henrich roth	1. 2.6	19	1	henrich mogelrei	o. 7.6
						[Henry McElroy]	

thut alles ohne murmelung und ohne zweifel
auf dess ihr seyd ohne tadel und lauter gottes Kinder

23 1 henrich huber o. 7.6

27 1 hans maresen o. 7.6

[Hans Morrison]

mertz

4 1 fridrich grug o. 8.3

6 2 henrich megfahl o. 7.6

[Henry McFall]

7 1 abraham herr o. 11.3

14 1 henrich breneman 1. 2.6

20 1 abraham huber o. 7.6

25 1 adam mohr o. 7.6

abril

13 1 fridrich braun o. 7.6

25 1 tame herris o. 7.6

[Tommy Harris]

meius

8 1 tschims gole [?] o. 7.6

17 1 iacob brubacher o. 61.7

17 1 iacob keberle o. 7.6

25 1 tschims bergs o. 7.6

[James Berks]

25 1 falendein hart

27 1 tschims bosen o. 7.6

[James Posen?]

inius

17 1 iacob finfrock o. 7.6

iulius

10 1 abraham blender o. 3.9

21 1 bil weit o. 15.0

[Bill White]

26 1 iacob harnis o. 7.6

27 1 hans breneman o. 15.0

august

23 1 david gallens o. 13.0

[David Collins]

september

11 1 hans breneman o. 7.6

12 1 iacob gergen o. 15.0

18 1 peter gremer

ocdober

6 1 hans bachman o. 15.0

9 2 tschims schnergres 7.6

23 1 adam thomas o. 15.0

[Adam Thomas.]

november

1 1 tschims glerg o. 11.3

[James Clark]. o. 15.0

9 1 defed bein

[David —]

19 1 peter huber o. 15.0

3 1 iost mone o. 7.6

grüset alle brüder mit dem heiligen kus

ich beschwerr euch bey dem herrn

dass ihr diese epistel lesen laset allen heiligen brüdern

die gnade unseres herrn iesu christi sey mit euch amen

december

2	i iabob braun	o. 7.6
5	i wilhelm ratman	o. 11.3
13	i aren megfen [Aaron McFan]	
13	i iohanes behr	o. 7.6
14	i berdle glerge [Bartel Clark]	o. 7.6
25	i bile begster	o. 7.6
	[Billy Baxster]	
26	i hans dele	o. 15.0
	[Hans Daly]	
27	i hanes guth	o. 15.0
28	i tscho glerg [Joe Clerk]	o. 7.6

1800 iener

12	i hans leihe	
30	i dames nill [Thomas Neal]	o. 15.6

februarius

4	i hans gaslo	o. 15.0
8	i iacob menerd [Jacob Maynard]	o. 15.0
20	i ned deler	o. 9.0
24	i hans maresen [Hans Morrison]	o. 7.6
28	i robert wils [Robert Wells]	o. 7.6

mertz

3	i isag schmid	o. 11.3
8	i hans kindig	o. 11.3
10	i dame nülßen [Tommy Nelson]	o. 8.3

11	i frans hemeldon [Franz Hamilton]	o. 7.6
12	i hans miller	o. 16.6
14	i ben hart	1. 10.0
17	i tschims bleer [James Blair]	o. 7.6
20	i tschims mele [— Mayley]	o. 7.6
22	i henrich ries	7.6
	[Henry Reese]	
23	i erdsche mogener [?] [Archie —]	
28	i marde huber	1. 2.6

abril

14	i tschims greims [James Grimes]	o. 15.0
24	i hans eligsander [Hans Alexander]	7.6

meius

2	i iacob rohrer	1. 2.6
8	i frider meier	o. 15.0
16	i hans lorens	o. 7.6
21	i daniel berdol	o. 7.6

iunins

4	i abraham herr	o. 8.3
29	i hener huber	

iulius

2	i ana ms? berren	o. 8.3
4	i christle huber	o. 15.0
27	i bil sibrug [— Seabrook]	o. 7.6

august

5	1	tschim sibrud	o. 7.6
		sepdember	
6	1	iaeb finfrog	o. 7.6
		[Jacob Finefrock]	
16	1	mardin herr	o. 15.0
26	1	wiliam bigem	o. 15.0
		[William Pagen or Bigham]	

october

6	1	bil golr	o. 7.6
		[Bill Kohler]	
23	1	fern sommer	o. 7.6
30	1	hanes herr	1. 2.6

november

2	1	hanes stauer	o. 16.6
14	1	defid berd	1. 2.6
		[David Bird or Baird?]	
17	1	bile eben	o. 7.6
21	1	iost gidsch	o. 15.0
23	1	bile schnorgres	o. 17.6

december

2	1	henrich ris	o. 9.4
3	1	hans schenf	o. 7.6
7	1	hans mohr	o. 7.6
9	1	hanner schab	o. 15.0
10	1	wil megnil	o. 7.6
		[Will McNeal]	
16	1	henrich herr	o. 15.0
26	1	bede sibrug	o. 7.6
		[— Seabrook]	

1801 iener

1	1	ridschert tschons	o. 7.6
		[Richard Jones]	
22	1	sam mehefe	o. 15.0
		[Sam Mehaffey]	
24	1	adem lutzenberger	1. 17.6
29	1	hans bauman	
29	1	iacob kindig	o. 7.0

februarius

5	1	giorge feitz	o. 15.0
25	1	hans bachman	o. 7.6
28	1	iacob feitz	o. 15.0

mertz

1	1	fridrich grug	o. 15.0
4	1	hanes rein	o. 7.6
15	1	henrich keil	o. 7.6
17	1	abraham huber	o. 15.0

abril

5	1	iost miller	
24	1	daniel moser	o. 15.0

meius

20	1	hans megomre	o. 15.0
		[Hans Montgomery]	
25	1	tschims bergs	o. 7.6
		[James Berks]	

iunius

13	1	dame heres	o. 7.6
		[Tommy Harris]	

17 1 fridrich braun o. 7.6
21 1 christle hes o. 15.0

iulius

5 1 bege rehr
10 1 adam tomas o. 15.0
13 1 lemen gleim o. 11.3
29 1 henner bauman o. 15.0

august

1 1 martin huber, o. 7.6
schreiner o. 7.6
11 1 tschims glerg o. 15.6
[James Clark]
25 1 redschel eben o. 15.0
[Rachel —]

september

1 1 aron megfen
[Aaron McVane]
4 1 henrich megfahl
[Henry McFall]
14 1 adam mohr o. 7.4
15 1 hans leche o. 7.6
22 1 peter gremer o. 9.4
26 1 tschims niell o. 15.0
[James Neal]
29 1 daniel berdol o. 7.6
30 1 davit gallens o. 13.0
[David Collins]
30 1 tschims herres o. 7.6
[James Harris]

ocdober

6 1 davit tschandson o. 11.3
[David Johnson]

6 1 hans huber o. 7.6
7 1 barbra werfel o. 9.4
12 1 bile bögster o. 7.6

[Billy Baxster]

12 1 christian herr o. 15.0
23 1 pieter, neger o. 7.6

[Peter, a negro]

31 1 bile bell o. 11.3
[Billy Bell]

november

1 1 hans dele o. 7.6
[Hans Daly]
8 1 hans werder o. 7.6
13 1 maria nef o. 15.0
27 1 giorg rab o. 3.9

december

26 1 daniel gleden o. 7.6
[Daniel Clayton]
27 1 abraham gochnauer o. 15.0

1802 ianuarus

9 1 andreas echdenacht o. 9.4
9 1 hanes herr o. 7.6
15 1 hannes higen o. 15.0
[Hannes Higgins]
29 1 iacob beier 1. 7.6

hornung

1 1 abraham huber o. 7.6
22 1 benedig wender 1. 2.6
24 1 berdle glerg o. 7.6
[Bartel Clark]
25 1 hanes staufer o. 15.0

26 I iacob gergen o. 15.0
 28 I hans guth o. 15.0

mertz

10 I giorg weigert o. 15.0
 12 I bensche hart 1. 10.0

[Benjy Hart]

14 I iacob roner o. 15.0
 24 I iocob resle o. 7.6
 30 I hanes hes o. 11.3

abril

12 I bile bigem o. 15.0
 [Billy Pagen or Bigham?]

meius

14 I iacob himmelreich o. 7.6
 18 I henrich koel o. 7.6
 [Henry Coil]

uinius

13 I daniel langenneger o. 15.0
 25 I hanrich schab o. 15.0

iulius

I henrich beier o. 15.0
 I maria wengerd o. 15.0

august

13 I beidrig, neger o. 3.7
 22 I tschims nill, maurer o. 15.0
 [James Neal]

september

2 I martin huber 1. 2.6
 3 I wiliam schnorgres o. 7.6
 6 I conrath meier o. 7.6
 12 I frider koberle o. 7.6
 19 I henrich graf o. 11.3

october

3 I hans rohrer 1. 1.0
 4 I hans gaslo o. 15.0
 10 I martin herr o. 15.0
 12 I tschims williams o. 8.3
 14 I tschims sibrug o. 9.4

[James Seabrook]

16 I abraham miller 1. 2.6
 17 I iacob helms o. 15.0
 21 I hans dennesen o. 9.4

[Hans Dennison]

22 I henrich reis o. 7.6
 [Henry Rice]

november

5 I iacob rohrer 1. 2.6
 25 I iohannes marres o. 15.0
 [Johannes Morris]

december

3 I adam bigel o. 7.6
 10 I michel sthr o. 7.6
 13 I christian schof o. 15.0
 25 I sem sommer o. 7.6

1803 ienner

2 I andreas echdenach o. 11.3

3	1	tschims defes	o. 7.6	19	1	bile elden	o. 15.0
		[James Davis]				[Billy Elden]	
9	1	henrich hesden	o. 7.6	21	1	hans mohr	o
		[Henry Heston]		23	1	samuel mehalms	o. 15.0
27	1	tschims gallens	o. 7.6			[McCallum?]	
		[James Collins or Galen?]		29	1	dame herres	o. 15.0
30	1	johannis behr	o. 7.6			[Tommy Harris]	

hornung

6	1	raberd megodsch	o. 7.6
		[Robert McCoach]	
8	1	bill golr [Gole?]	
10	1	bill sibrug	o. 7.6
11	1	tschims borde	o. 7.6
12	1	tschims blender	o. 7.6
19	1	tschim lad	o. 7.6
		[Jim Lord?]	
22	1	bile meglehn	o. 7.6
		[Billy McLean]	
25	1	iost miller	o. 7.6

mertz

7	1	iacob greider	o. 15.0
10	1	hans leche	o. 7.6
16	1	giorg fehl	o. 15.0
		[— Vail]	
31	1	maria dreger	o. 7.6
31	1	henrich schob	o. 15.0

abrill

3	1	bile rab	o. 7.6
4	1	bege brond	o. 7.6
11	1	nense megfen	o. 7.6
		[Nancy McFan]	
12	1	hans dele	o. 7.6
		[Hans Daly]	

meius

12	1	henner huber	o. 7.6
25	1	habel	o. 7.6
31	1	tschim begem?	o. 15.0
		[Jim Pagen or Bigham]	

uinus

2	1	hans breneman	o. 15.0
20	1	tschims mone	o. 7.6
22	1	christian herr	1. 10.0
26	1	cairb keberle	o. 7.6
28	1	marden huber,	
		schreiner	o. 7.6
29	1	hans megomre	
		[Hans Montgomery]	
30	1	giorg weigard	o. 15.0

iulius

4	1	hannes schab	o. 15.0
12	1	lemon glein	o. 8.3
16	1	gleman bederson	o. 7.6
		[Clemen(s) Peterson]	
20	1	martin schab	1. 10.0

augustus

2	1	aron megfen	o. 11.3
		[Aaron McFan]	

13 1 henrich mergle o. 7.6
 17 1 icob roner o. 15.0
 21 1 iacob kindig o. 7.6
 21 1 bile begster o. 7.6

[Billy Baxter]

24 1 isak hesden o. 7.6
 [Isaac Heston]
 25 1 bile miller o. 7.6

sebdember

2 1 daniel moser o. 15.0
 7 1 henrich megfahl o. 15.0
 [Henry McFall]

8 1 beniman wehwer o. 15.0
 [Benjamin Weaver]

13 1 henrich bauman o. 15.0

ocdober

12 1 willem meglen
 [William McLean]

18 1 tschims nill o. 15.0
 [James Neal]

20 1 badrig braun o. 7.6
 [Patrick Brown]

23 1 iacob seider [?] o. 7.6

25 1 bile wutz o. 15.0
 [Billy Woods]

27 1 henrich beier o. 7.6

28 1 hans alixander o. 7.6

november

9 1 tschims wilsen o. 7.6
 [James Wilson]

12 1 daniel langenegger o. 15.0

12 1 adam steinweg o. 7.6

12 1 ludwig dieder o. 15.0

20 1 hans gros o. 15.0

23 1 hans higens o. 15.0

24 1 bergle glerg o. 7.6
 [Barclay Clark]

december

16 1 giorg agser o. 8.0

16 1 adam domas o. 18.9
 [Adam Thomas]

19 1 iost herr o. 15.0

24 1 dafed galens o. 11.3
 [David Collins]

29 1 iue mogfersen o. 7.6
 [Hughy ? McPherson]

1804 ienner

8 1 hannes lemen o. 7.6

9 1 martin behm o. 15.0

17 1 henrich kriel o. 7.6

21 1 iacob feitz o. 15.0

22 1 barbra zirger o. 7.6

27 1 ridschert tschons o. 15.0
 [Richard Jones]

hornung

12 1 peder lein o. 7.6

13 1 peder gremer o. 11.3

17 1 john

23 1 dafid tschandsen o. 9.4
 [David Johnson]

25 1 iocob finfrock o. 7.6

mertz

1 1 abraham gochnauer o. 11.3

4 1 iacob greider o. 15.0

7	1 hannes tomas	o. 7.6	12	1 redschdl, neger	o. 15.0
	[— Thomas]		14	1 peter jung	o. 15.0
26	1 abraham huber	o. 15.0	21	1 luse, neger	o. 7.6
27	1 john miller	o. 17.0	29	1 hans leche	

abrill

3	1 henrich schab	1. 2.6
8	1 peder huber	o. 15.0
9	1 bensche hart	1. 17.6

may

7	1 michel stühr	o. 15
8	1 seme engrem	o. 18.9

[Sammy Ingram]

12	1 hannes gochnauer	o. 15.0
13	1 raberd megodsch	o. 7.6
	[Robert McCoach or McCouch?]	
14	1 fridrich grug	1. 2.6
19	1 christian herr	o. 7.6

iunius

6	1 johannes zerger	o. 15.0
30	1 ana stihl	o. 7.6

iulius

21	1 henrich huber	
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august

12	1 merg medol	o. 9.4
19	1 johanes behr	o. 7.6
22	1 henrich reis, neger	o. 7.6

september

7	1 lid, neger	o. 15.0
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ocdober

1	1 jacob scheng	o. 7.10
2	1 johannes schab	1. 2.6
12	1 isag kindig	o. 7.6
15	1 jacob himelreich	o. 7.6
15	1 johannes rohrer	1. 2.6
26	1 jacob rohrer	1. 17.6

november

1	1 rude henre	o. 11.3
	[Rudy Henry]	
3	1 jacob rihs	o. 15.0
8	1 jacob helms	o. 15.0
10	1 daniel berdol	o. 11.3
14	1 johan herres	o. 15.0
	[— Harris]	
18	1 john heier	1. 2.6

november

26	1 tschims lad	o. 15.0
26	1 ben berdscher	o. 7.6
	[Ben Bercher]	

december

6	1 tschims galens	o. 7.6
	[James Collins or Galen?]	
10	1 christle marde	o. 15.0
	[— Martin]	
27	1 hannes staufer	o. 15.0

1805 ienner

5	1 bile defes	o. 7.9
	[Billy Davis]	

8 1 raberd wiliams o. 7.6
 12 1 christian schmit 1. 2.6
 15 1 henrich herr o. 15.0
 19 1 tschims sibrug o. 11.3

[James Seabrook]

22 1 hans winder o. 9.4
 27 1 daniel herr o. 15.0
 30 1 hans gaslo o. 15.0

februaius

9 1 sem sommer o. 9.4
 11 1 iacob tomas o. 15.0
 19 1 bale sibrug o. 7.6

[Polly? Seabrook]

25 1 johan gesinger o. 7.6
 28 1 jachob grebil o. 7.6

maius

2 1 tamas wilsen
 17 1 iacob finfrook o. 15.0
 18 1 john rabenson o. 15.0

[Robinson]

22 1 tschims greims o. 15.0
 27 1 giorg weiger o. 15.0

[Weigert?]

iunius

1 1 tschims mill o. 15.0

[James Mills?]

11 1 peter lein o. 9.4
 15 1 john dugan [Dugan] o. 7.6
 16 1 iacob riss o. 15.0

[— Reese]

18 1 iostel herr o. 7.6

22 1 henrich megfals

[Henry McFalls]

28 1 bensche hart 1. 17.6
 [Benjy —]

iulius

1 david oldfil o. 7.6

[David Oldfield]

17 1 daniel widuman o. 7.6

23 1 cadrina meils o. 7.6

[— Miles]

23 1 joseph christ o. 15.0

29 1 johannes behr o. 15.0

august

27 1 johannes rohrer o. 18.9

30 1 jacob gergen o. 15.0

september

1 1 Johannes megomre o. 7.6

[— Montgomery]

8 1 daniel herr o. 15.0

12 1 iacob grebil o. 7.6

17 1 hanes huber, mauerer o. 7.6

15 1 christ meirechofer 1. 2.6

[— Merrikofer]

19 1 ana regen o. 7.6

27 1 hannis tomes o. 15.0

[— Thomas]

27 1 fridrich grug o. 15.0

ocdober

1 1 tschims gällens o. 7.6

[James Collins or Galen?]

7 1 christe lein o. 7.6

8 1 gottlib gleman o. 15.0

10 1 henrich glein o. 15.0
12 1 John abbed o. 15.0

[— Abbott]

14 1 henrich resch o. 15.0

16 1 hannes deerendinger o. 11.3

19 1 John lerd o. 15.0

[— Leard]

25 1 lisabeth lein o. 7.6

28 1 tschims glerg o. 11.3

[James Clark]

21 1 tschims mele

26 1 fridrich braun o. 7.6

27 1 John nef 1. 17.6

30 1 bile bigham o. 15.0

[Billy Bigham]

31 1 bile megmellen o. 7.6

[Billy McMullen]

november

4 1 ezechiel meglun o. 7.6

[— McClun]

19 1 barbra werfel o. 11.3

21 1 raberd rosg o. 8.3

[Robert Rusk]

december

3 1 henrich muselman o. 15.0

3 1 mardin eschleman o. 8.3

13 1 aron megfen o. 15.0

[— McFan]

14 1 John hendersen o. 15.0

23 1 henrich bos

[— Boas?]

23 1 Jacob kindig o. 7.6

30 1 adam mohr o. 8.3

1806 ianuari

8 1 firden nilsen [wilsen?] o. 7.6
[Ferdinand Nelson or Wilson?]

10 1 iacob scheng o. 11.3

13 1 iacob werfel o. 15.0

20 1 bile sibrug o. 15.0

[— Seabrook]

22 1 rude schenck 1. 2.6

24 1 iacob beier o. 7.6

26 1 abraham gechnauer o. 15.0

27 1 isag wager o. 7.6

31 1 roberd megodsch o. 7.6

[Robert McCoach or McCouch]

februari

1 1 hanes hes o. 15.0

7 1 lenerd gerg o. 7.6

7 1 hans miller 1. 2.6

11 1 isag kindig o. 7.6

25 1 tschims defes o. 7.6

[James Davis] o. 7.6

mertz

2 1 peder miller o. 18.9

5 1 adam tomas o. 15.0

14 1 ben berdscher o. 7.6

[— Bercher]

16 1 christina staner o. 7.6

[— Stoner]

23 1 john herres 1. 10.0

[— Harris]

26 1 ana kuhns o. 7.6

27 1 abraham huber o. 15.0

abril

- 3 1 henrich reiss o. 7.6
 [— Rice]
 15 1 henrich schab o. 18.9
 20 1 hanes werfel o. 7.6
 26 1 bil sommer o. 7.6
 29 1 martin herr o. 15.0
 30 1 frans borns
 [— Barnes]

meius

- 27 1 tschims burdr o. 7.6
 [— Porter]
 30 1 mäte gorlen
 [— Garland]

iunius

- 1 1 sem hens o. 15.0
 5 1 hans hes o. 11.3
 7 1 daunsend lambarns o. 15.0
 [Townsend Lamburn(s)]
 18 1 dafid gibsen o. 76
 [— Gibson]
 20 1 suse instscherles o. 7.6
 20 1 hanes schab o. 15.0
 25 1 beniamen wadsen o. 7.6
 [Benjamin Watson]

iulius

- 1 1 rude schenk 1. 17.6
 2 1 iacob rohrer 1. 2.6
 4 1 iacob heidelbach o. 15.0
 10 1 josua schab 1. 17.6
 11 1 samuel miller 1. 2.0
 16 1 hans gaslo o. 15.6
 17 1 hans guth o. 15.0

- 17 1 hans bachman o. 7.6
 28 1 hans higens o. 15.0

[— Higgins]

- 29 2 raberd megdosch o. 7.5
 [Robert McCoach or McCouch?]
 31 1 martin huber

august

- 4 1 daniel langenegger o. 15.0
 4 1 isag stautzenberger o. 15.0
 9 1 bile somers
 10 1 tschims lat o. 7.6
 [— Lord or Lloyd?]
 11 1 wiliam dining o. 11.3
 [William Denning]
 17 1 hans leche o. 7.6
 17 1 abraham gochnauer o. 15.0
 17 1 peter lein o. 11.3
 19 bernhart o. 11.3
 22 1 hifner o. 15.0
 24 1 abraham scheng 1. 2.6
 26 1 abraham herr o. 15.0
 28 1 ludwig reile o. 7.6
 [— Reilly]

sebdember

- 5 1 bile wuds o. 11.3
 [Billy Woods]
 6 1 hans eligxander o. 7.6
 [— Alexander]
 9 1 bile mohr o. 7.6
 — Moore]
 11 1 mede ernlen (?) o. 7.6
 13 1 ienadan mergle o. 15.0
 [Jonathan? —]

november

- 1 1 samuel sommer o. 7.6

4	1	michel finrock	o .7.6	hornung	
5	1	iacob mergele	o.15.0		
6	1	edward brin	o.15.0	2	1 henrich hesden o. 7.6
		[— Brine=O' Brien?]			[Henry Heston]
18	1	hans winder	o.15.0	11	1 jacob feitz o.15.0
		[— Wunder?]		16	1 iacob kreider o.15.0
19	1	roberd wiliams	o. 7.6	27	1 iacob huber o.15.0
21	1	iacob himmelreich	o. 7.6		
23	1	henrich ries	o. 7.6		mertz
24	1	christle tomas	o.15.0		
25	1	hans berns	o. 8.3	3	1 tschims schnorgres o.15.0
		[— Burns]		8	1 davfd strom o.11.3
27	1	ludwig diter	o.15.0	12	1 iacob scheng o.11.3
		[— Dieter]		12	1 christian schmit o.15.0
				24	1 samuel gottre o.15.0
					[— Guthrie]
		December			

8	1	salome kege	o. 7.6		
		[Kegy or Keagy]			abril
19	1	bil defes	o.15.0		
		[Bill Davis]		5	1 samuel mehefe o.15.0
21	1	christle marde	o.11.3		[— Mehaffey]
		[— Martin]		9	1 henrich schab o.15.0
22	1	hannes gerger	o.18.9	14	1 henrich reis
28	1	bile megfen	o.11.3		[— Rice]
		[Billy McFan]		17	1 daniel berdol o.11.3
					[Daniel Bertel]
		1807 ianuarus		22	1 tschims dacherde
					[— Dougherty]
				25	1 rus lad o. 7.6
5	1	maria schub	o.15.0		[— Lord or Lloyd?]
13	1	john tschonsden	o. 7.6	20	1 ulig wolandein o. 7.6
		[— Johnston]			[— Valentin]
17	1	daniel moser	o.15.0	1	22 iacob heidelbach o.15.0
19	1	john schab	1. 2.6	1	26 iacob huber [living
21	1	dome herres	o. 7.6		with] beder guth o.15.0
		[Tommy Harris]			
23	1	lid b	1. 2.6		meius
25	1	iue megfedschen	o. 7.6		
		[Hughey McFadden?]		1	8 iacob stog o. 7.6

[TO BE CONTINUED]

1 13 hans hemmel	1. 2.6		september	
1 23 abraham schenck	1. 2.6			
1 25 christle huber	1. 2.6	1 4 henrich schenck		0. 15.0
1 31 cavid gibson		1 5 rude chenemel		0. 7.6
[— Gibson]		1 6 david erwen		0. 8.3
		[— Irwin]		
iunius		1 7 giorg agser		0. 7.6
		1 7 meig gross		0. 7.6
1 1 hans wewer	0. 7.6	1 24 hannes guth		0. 15.0
[Weber, Weaver]		1 28 adam lefewer		0. 15.0
1 7 schlogan	0. 11.3	[— Lefevre]		
1 15 hans kibartz	0. 18.9	1 29 lide anderfardsch		1. 10.0
1 17 samuel godre	0. 7.6		ocdober	
[— Gutherie]				
1 marde huber,	0. 15.0	1 2 michel kindig		1. 2.6
schreiner		1 7 isag gross		1. 2.6
1 22 marde eckman	0. 18.9	1 10 henrich echman		0. 15.0
1 23 raberd megodsch		1 10 ana meglachlen		0. 7.6
[— McCoach]		[— Meglaughlin]		
1 30 iacob finfrock	0. 7.6	1 12 hans aligxander		0. 9.4
iulius		1 14 iacob kreider		0. 7.6
		1 15 adam hart		0. 7.6
1 13 filb miller	0. 18.9	1 20 henrich beier		0. 7.6
1 18 lisabeth schenk,	0. 11.3	1 22 henrich örl		0. 7.6
peder guth [at Peter Good's?]		[— Earl]		
1 19 falendein gerdner	1. 2.6	1 23 paul dungel		0. 7.6
[Valentine —]		[— Dunkel]		
1 31 hans tschansden		1 24 daniel longeneger		1. 2.6
[— Johnston]			[No month given]*	
august		15 1 merg medol		0. 9.4
		16 1 martin schab		
1 2 giorg reser	0. 15.0	18 1 lisabeth dryer		0. 15.0
1 15 nens ball	0. 7.6	24 1 christina gro		0. 7.6
[Nance Ball]		27 1 henrich beil		0. 7.6
august		29 1 salomen dinning		0. 15.0
		[Denning]		
1 30 christian Rohrer	0. 17.0			

* Confusion in entry. Cf. the following "October."

oeclober

1	1	hans schmit	o. 7.6
5	1	hans schenk	o. 15.
9	1	giorg erb	o. 7.6
12	1	frider keberle	o. 7.6
15	1	falendein gerdner	o. 15.0
24	1	christle lein	o. 7.6
24	1	henrich örl	o. 15.0
26	1	giorg agser	o. 7.6
27	1	semuel wilson	o. 15.0
		[Samuel Wilson]	

november

5	1	peter wudro	o. 7.6
		[— Woodrow]	
9	1	andreas miller	o. 11.3
17	1	hannes schmid, zim-	
		merman	o. 16.6
22	1	hans winder	o. 11.3
26	1	iusepf herr	o. 15.0
27	1	hans mareson	o. 7.6
		[Morrison]	
28	1	hans hess	o. 15.0
30	1	christian schenk	1. 17.6

december

3	1	Michel kindig	o. 7.6
7	1	adem steinweg	o. 7.6
8	1	aron megfen	
		[McFan]	
12	1	— schlagen	o. 7.6
		— [Slogan?]	
13	1	hans schob, miller	1. 14.6
26	1	iacob warfel	o. 7.6

januari 1808*

3	1	christle grebil	o. 7.6
7	1	äbe. tschons	o. 7.6
		[Aby Jones]	
16	1	tschims mogelerger	o. 7.6
		[McGallagher]	
19	1	hans berd	11.6
		[— Bird or Baird?]	
23	1	iacob keberle	
27	1	hans gochnauer	o. 15.0
30	1	hans werfel	o. 15.0

hornung

12	1	Michel stühr	o. 7.6
12	1	gottlib gleman	o. 7.6
14	1	isag kindig	o. 7.6
16	1	ester kuhns	o. 7.6
19	1	iacob kindig	1.
21	1	hans fargerson	o. 7.6
		[— Ferguson]	
28	1	wiliam weit	5. 5.7
		[— White]	

mertz

3	1	mardin huber, schrei-	
		ner	o. 15.0
1	5	iost mone	o. 7.6
1	10	hans berns	o. 11.3
		[Burns]	
1	11	iarle onel	1.
		[— O'Neal]	
1	16	bile ellen	o. 7.6
		[— Allen]	

* First three lines are crossed out and rewritten in the MS.

I 18 sem mechalms o. 7.6

[Sam McCallums]

I 19 iacob grebil o. 7.6

abril

I 5 archer martin o. 8.3

I 7 hans meier o. 15.0

I 9 david gallens o. 15.0

[— Collins ?]

I 12 giorg rau o. 15.0

I 23 hans wieder o. 7.6

I 29 hans franz o. 15.0

meius

I 5 abraham buschman o. 15.0

I 7 sofia draud o. 7.6

[— Traut]

I 7 hans riss o. 15.0

I 15 bile rab o. 7.6

I 21 iacob riss o. 15.0

I 24 berdes grengel o. 7.6

I 27 stiwen nilsen o. 7.6

[Stephen Nelsen or Wilson?]

iunius

I 9 iacob meier o. 15.0

I 10 hannes rohrer o. 18.9

I 11 hans kindig

I 20 hans liess I. 2.0

I 21 urig grof o. 7.6

I 23 tschims nill [Neal] o. 15.0

I 25 meig finrock o. 7.6

I 26 bege schmit o. 7.6

iulius

I 16 daniel gleden o. 7.6

[— Clayton]

I 17 abraham staufer o. 15.0

I 24 david hess o. 8.3

I 25 bile wills

[Billy Wills or Wells?]

I 26 iost grist o. 15.0

august

I 1 abraham schneider o. 11.3

I 3 adam mergle

I 6 iacob scheng o. 15.0

I 16 John gilgor o. 15.0

— [Gilgore]

I 22 iacob fritz

I 24 isag hall I. 2.6

I 28 daunsen lemborns I. 2.6

[Townsend Lamburns]

I 29 iohan grummel

sebdember

I 3 iacob thomes o. 15.0

[— Thomas]

I 3 rude schenk I. 2.6

I 8 bile defes

[— Davis]

I 8 hannes hess, kate kege o. 11.3

[and? Katy Keagy]

I 17 henrich beier o. 7.6

I 19 peder gardner o. 5.0

I 20 hans huber, maurer o. 7.6

october

1	2 christian herr, begwe	o. 15.0
	[Pequea]	
1	8 giorg lamborns	o. 15.0
	[— Lamburns]	
1	10 henrich gleim	o. 15.9
1	11 john lang	o. 18.9
1	14 josua schab	1. 17.6
1	18 berdle glerg	
	[— Clark]	
1	20 isag kindig, iung	o. 15.0
1	26 iacob himmelreich	o. 7.6
1	28 lenard gerg	o. 7.6
1	31 samuel braun	o. 15.0

november

1	1 hanes mogelrei	
	— [McElroy]	
1	1 john mohl, mauerer	o. 7.6
1	3 samuel rohrer	o. 15.0
1	4 daniel moser	o. 15.0
1	5 ludwig reile	o. 7.6
	[— Reilly]	
1	6 tschims defis	o. 15.0
	[James Davis]	
1	14 eduard brin	3. 15.0
	[— Brine or O'Brien?]	
1	16 hans derdesle	o. 7.6
1	17 hans mares	
	[— Morris]	

november

1	17 fridrich grug	o. 15.0
1	20 adam thomas	1. 10.0
1	20 hannes brecht	o. 15.0

1	21 tschims gällens	o. 7.6
	[James Galen (s) or Collins?]	
1	25 daniel herr	o. 15.0
1	25 bile sibrug	o. 7.6
	[“Billy” Seabrook]	
1	27 iacob schof	o. 15.0

december

1	1 paulus dingel	o. 7.6
1	3 bale kindig	o. 7.6
1	7 hannes bachman	o. 15.0
1	26 bill mafen	o. 7.6
	[— McFan]	

1809 ianuari.

1	1 salome tomsen	
1	2 ben hart	
1	5 hans fargersen	
	[— Ferguson]	
1	12 hans schab	
1	17 hans lang bris	
1	22 maria ber	
1	24 henrich riss	
1	24 ball miller	
	[Paul? —]	
1	26 iust mares, neger	
	[— Morris, negro]	
1	27 hans winder	
1	29 henrich schab	o. 15.0

hornung

1	5 iacob mergele	o. 18.9
1	10 john rabeson	o. 11.3
	[— Robeson or Robinson?]	

1 11 giorg weger
 1 14 barbra werfel
 1 22 jonada mergle o. 16.6
 [Jonathan —]
 1 23 john dugen o. 7.6
 [— Dugan]
 1 23 salomon dening o. 15.0
 [— Denning]
 1 24 samuel mehefe o. 18.9
 [— Mahaffey]

mertz

12 peder wutroh
 [— Woodrow]
 1 5 ana dreger o. 9.4
 1 9 henrich hesden o. 7.6
 [— Heston]
 1 13 fridrich schof 1. 2.6
 1 17 henrich kindig o. 15.0
 1 20 thomas defes o. 15.0
 [— Davis]
 1 25 samuel eissenberger o. 7.6

abril

2 7 tschims schnorgres o. 15.0
 1 10 hans leche o. 7.6
 1 13 samuel sommer o. 9.4
 1 14 abraham huber,
 schumacher o. 15.0
 1 15 andres riss o. 7.6

iulius

5 1 cadrina riss o. 7.6
 11 1 bil megfen o. 7.6
 [— McFan]

24 1 henrich bauman o. 15.0
 24 1 bil rab

august

7 1 hans schans o. 11.3
 22 1 henrich beier o. 7.6
 1 24 tschims dacherde o. 15.0
 [— Dougherty]

sebdember

1 6 hans higens o. 15.6
 [— Higgins]
 1 8 bile allen o. 7.6
 1 15 ana dreger o. 15.0
 1 16 paulus tschandsen o. 7.6
 [— Johnson]

october

1 1 hans brechd o. 15.0
 1 3 henrich sibrug o. 11.3
 [— Seabrook]
 1 5 iacob libe o. 7.6
 [— Libby]
 1 6 henrich keil o. 7.6
 1 14 bile wutz [Woods] o. 11.0
 1 16 iost mone o. 7.6

november

1 1 bile bordsch o. 11.3
 1 8 abraham herr o. 15.0
 1 9 hans higens
 [— Higgins]
 1 13 mardin herr o. 15.0

1 15 ludwig reile	0.15.0	hornung	
1 24 hannes gochnauer	0.15.0		
1 25 christle grebil	11.3	1 2 hans rohrer	1.10.0
1 26 rebega lang	1. 2.6	1 2 daniel zidel	0.15.0
[Rebecca——]		1 8 georg wentz	0.11.3
		1 12 bil mohl	0. 7.6
december		1 15 christian schenck	0.15.0
		1 11 isag kindig	0.15.0
1 5 josua lih	0. 7.6	[Isaac ——]	
[—— Lea]		1 17 josua schab	
1 6 henrich sibrug	0. 7.6	1 26 frider keberle	
1 6 iacob schenck	0.15.0		
1 10 john megfel, neger	0. 8.3	mertz	
[—— McFell or McFail?——]			
1 14 giorg weigert	0.15.0	1 9 giorg wolf	0.15.0
1 15 sem braun	0. 7.6	1 12 iacob riss	0. 7.6
1 18 hans schab, wert	1.10.0	6 17 giorg brand	0.11.3
[—— Wirt]		1 19 adam mergle	0. 3.9
1 24 hans gaslo	0.15.0	1 23 marde huber	1. 2.6
		1 26 peder grebil	0.11.3
1810. ienuari		1 28 wilhelm welger	0.11.3
		1 30 giorg fehl	1. 2.6
3 tschims dacherde		abril	
[—— Daugherty]			
1 6 christian schab	0.15.0	1 1 iost eckman	0.11.3
1 10 bill harres		1 2 rabert megal	0. 7.6
[—— Harris]		[—— McCall]	
1 15 berdle glerg		2 4 lisabeth eckman	0.15.0
[—— Clark]		1 5 iacob grebil	0. 7.6
1 15 tschims glerg	0.15.0	1 7 iost mone	0. 7.6
[—— Clark]		1 8 henrich breneman	1.10.0
1 16 iacob thomas	0.15.0	1 13 iacob werfel	0.11.3
1 19 peter gardner		1 16 john herr	1.17.6
1 22 abraham grof	1.10.0	1 18 john winder	
1 30 adam mohl	0. 7.6	1 18 joseb herr	0.15.0
1 31 hannes herres	0.15.0	1 24 john landes	0.15.0
[—— Harris]		1 27 stiwen wilson	0. 7.6

meius

- Nilsen?
 I 13 joseb christ o. 7.6
 I 17 hans hess, schu-
 mager o. 11.3
 I 18 iues megfals
 [Hughes McFalls?]
 I 20 isag holl I. 2.6

iuni

- I 11 peder lein o. 15.0
 I 15 christian Rohrer I. 2.6
 I 18 berdrig masetch o. 7.6
 [Patrick]
 I 22 hans sehens o. 15.0
 I 28 daniel greider o. 2.6

iuli

- I 5 hans werfel
 I 10 den megmollen
 [Dan McMullen] o. 15.0
 I 11 tschims nill o. 15.0
 I 15 hana schmit o. 15.0
 I 16 wiliams o. 7.6
 I 22 merg finfrock o. 7.6
 2 25 hans berger o. 15.0

august

- I 1 bill gidsch o. 15.0
 I 2 peder hebel o. 15.0
 I 3 mardin eschleman o. 15.0
 I 4 iacob himmelreich o. 7.6
 I 12 tschims gellen
 [— Galen] o. 7.6

- I 14 hans huber, mauerer o. 7.6
 I 20 seimen gross o. 18.9
 [Simon —]
 I 2 Wiliam dinning o. 15.0
 — Denning]

sebdember

- I 2 dame herres o. 7.6
 [Tommy Hartis]
 I 4 dame defes o. 15.0
 [Thomas Davis]

sebdember

- I 6 giorg meils o. 7.6
 [— Miles]
 I 2 jacob schab o. 18.9
 11 salomon gremer o. 18.9
 I 17 ob ——— o. 7.6
 I 18 fridrich schaf o. 15.0
 I 19 isag stoutzenberger I. 2.6
 I 21 edword brin 3. 15.0
 [— Brine or O'Brien?]
 I 25 abraham schob o. 15.0
 I 28 henrich resch I. 2.6

ocdober

- I 4 abraham gochnauer o. 16.6
 I 8 tsimis hess o. 18.9
 I 9 giorg lemborns o. 15.0
 [— Lamburns]
 I 12 bile allen o. 7.6
 [— Allen]
 I 16 peder iung o. 15.0
 I 21 berdes grenzel o. 7.6
 I 26 iacob braun, neger o. 7.6

november

1	1 daniel herr	0. 15.0
1	4 iacob herr	1. 17.6
1	5 samuel miller	1. 2.6
	6 mardin millersils	0. 15.0
1	16 iacob piders	0. 7.6
	[— Peters]	
1	16 henrich bauman	1. 2.6
1	17 giorg rau	1. 2.6
1	17 merg medol	0. 7.6
1	26 raberd gonigem	0. 7.6
	[— Cunningham]	

december

1	4 samuel rohrer	1. 2.6
1	9 hans dewesle	0. 7.6
1	13 henner kindig	1. 2.6
1	18 samuel wender	1. 17.6
1	22 hans schob	1. 0.8

1811 ianuari

1	5 lisbeth dreger	7.6
1	8 hans rabesen	0. 15.0
	[— Robeson or Robinson?]	
1	10 iacob stock	0. 7.6
1	12 tschims schnergres	0. 15.0
1	14 tschoh mares, neger	0. 7.6
	[Joe Morris, negro]	
1	15 iacob breneman	0. 15.0

februari

1	1 henrich riss	0. 7.6
1	4 arder mardin	0. 7.6

1	5 raberd megodsch	0. 11.3
	[— McCoach]	
1	9 iacob hersch	1. 2.6
1	9 tschims defes	0. 7.6
	[— Davis]	
1	20 iacob goschnauer	0. 15.0
1	21 isag kindig	0. 15.0
1	22 iacob braun	0. 7.6
1	23 cadrina meils	0. 7.6
	[— Miles]	
1	26 susana sibrugs	0. 7.6
	[— Seabrooks]	
1	27 ana schof	0. 11.3

mertz

1	1 salamon dining	0. 15.0
	[— Denning]	
1	4 giorg hemmeldon	0. 11.3
	[— Hamilton]	
1	4 peder gordner	0. 15.0
	[— Gardner]	
2	10 bile wardel	0. 7.6
	[— Wardell]	
1	12 hans gochnauer	0. 15.0
1	16 adam herr	1. 17.6
1	21 christle hebel	0. 7.6
1	21 johan bugser	0. 7.6
1	28 iacob staufer	0. 7.6
1	29 samuel gimmens	0. 11.3
	[— Cummings?]	
1	30 michel gros	0. 15.0

abril

1	1 hannes staufer	0. 7.6
1	1 bill rab	

1 3 daniel hauerd o. 11.3
 [—Howard]
 1 5 henrich huber o. 15.0
 1 17 meile braun, neger 3.9
 1 21 isag feder o. 7.6
 1 24 jonadan mergle o. 15.0
 1 7 jacob rohrer 1. 2.6
 1 13 fridrich grug o. 15.6
 1 10 hans wewer o. 7.6

[—Weaver]

1 20 christian rohrer,
 glein 1. 10.0
 1 20 christian hes o. 18.9
 1 30 has gochnauer,
 christlos o. 15.0

iuni

1 1 john hart o. 15.0
 1 4 bile nill
 [—Neal]
 1 8 john deden o. 15.0
 [—Dayton]
 1 13 jacob herr o. 15.0
 1 14 adam tomas o. 15.0
 [—Thomas]

1 14 hans winder o. 7.5
 1 17 hans rabesen, jung o. 15.0
 [— — Jr.]
 1 21 henrich maurer o. 7.6
 1 26 hans brecht o. 15.0

iulius

1 9 suse negerin brins? o. 15.0
 [Susie, Brine's or O'Brien's
 negro girl?]
 1 14 michel blescher o. 11.3
 1 21 henrich beier o. 7.6

1 23 ben hart 1. 17.6
 1 26 hans bauman, miller 1. 2.6
 1 26 meig finfrock o. 7.6
 1 29 salome daves o. 7.6
 [—Davis]
 1 31 henrich schab o. 15.0

august

1 1 salomon greiner o. 15.0
 1 7 bill megfen o. 7.6
 [—McFan]
 1 7 John herres 1. 2.6
 [—Harris]
 1 9 isag groff o. 16.0
 1 15 adam breneman o. 15.0
 1 15 haner wilfang o. 7.6
 1 16 ledwig reile o. 7.6

[—Reilly]

1 17 john ben mardes 1. 2.6
 1 10 jacob mergle 1. 10.0
 1 26 nardin gall o. 11.3
 1 27 giorg agser o. 11.3

september

1 5 abraham huber,
 wewer o. 11.3
 1 11 michel kindig o. 15.0
 1 12 tschims nabord o. 15.0
 [—Newport?]
 1 16 josua lih o. 7.6
 [—Lea]

1 17 daniel moser
 1 18 henrich schenck 1. 17.6
 1 21 walendein gerdner o. 15.0
 1 24 beniamen kindig o. 15.0
 1 27 henrich braun o. 11.3

october

I 1	christle rohrer	I. 2.6
I 5	hans kolb	o. 11.3
I 8	paul dungel	o. 15.0
I 9	hans ber, wewer	o. 11.3
I 12	henn kneil	
I 17	mardin huber, schrei- ner	o. 15.0
- 20	hans hennal	
I 21	christle herr	I. 17.6
I 21	seimen groff	o. 7.6
	[Simon —]	
I 21	lisabed stefen	o. 15.0
	[— Stephen (s)]	
I 23	tschims mogelorgen	o. 7.6
	[— McGallagher ?]	
I 25	samuel fermer	o. 11.3
	[— Farmer]	
I 27	hans bachman	
I 28	henrich eckman	o. 15.0
- 30	christle herr, begwe	o. 15.0
	[— —, Pequea]	
I 31	peder hilshans	I. 2.6

november

I 6	beniamen berr	o. 15.0
I 7	iue armstrang	o. 15.0
	[Joe or Hughey ? Armstrong]	
I 11	seiman	o. 15.0
	[Simon]	
I 14	frans rau	o. 11.3
I 15	iacob huber	o. 15.0
I 22	adam wewer ?, fuseler ?	o. 7.6
	[— tippler ?]	
I 22	david olfield	o. 15.0
	[— Oldfield]	

I 25	jacob gris	o. 11.3
	[— Chris]	

I 30	bale gremer	o. 7.6
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december

I 4	abraham schenck	I. 2.6
I 8	edward ganly	o. 15.0
	[— Conly]	
I 11	hans higen	o. 15.0
	[— Higgins]	
I 12	hans kindig	I. 17.6
I 17	isag herr	o. 15.0
I 17	iacob grebil	o. 7.6
- 23	iue lang	o. 15.0
	[Joe —]	
I 24	abraham huber	I. 2.0
I 28	peder grebil	o. 15.0
I 29	giorg tener	o. 0.0
	[— Tanger]	
I 31	ludwig dider	o. 15.6
	[— Dieter]	73. 17.6

1812 ienner

I 1	johan landes	o. 15.0
	[— Landis]	
I 5	samuel braun	o. 18.9
I 5	giorg schweiger	o. 11.3
I 8	jost christ	o. 16.0
2 9	david mardin	I. 2.6
	[— Martin]	
I 14	titschle	o. 15.0
I 16	meig stühr	o. 7.6
I 30	hans seibords	o. 15.0
I 31	josua schab	

hornung

1	5 samuel sommers	o. 7.6
1	5 abraham herr	o. 15.0
1	7 bob megal	
	[— McCall]	
1	8 hans eckman	o. 15.6
1	10 adam wilhelm	— 15.0
1	12 ridscherd gemmel	o. 7.6
	[— Campbell]	
1	16 giorg reser	o. 15.0
1	19 henrich gochnauer	o. 15.0
1	22 iues megfals	o. 5.7
	[Hughes? McFalls]	
1	22 cadrina hess	o. 15.0
1	26 hans schuls	o. 15.0
1	28 john bird	o. 7.6

mertz.

1	1 adam mohr	o. 11.3
1	4 john gremer	o. 7.6
1	6 samuel eschleman	1. 6.3
1	13 bädrig mohr	
	[Patrick More]	
1	17 mardle herr	o. 15.0
1	23 meggin	o. 15.0
	[McKean?]	
1	27 widfrau minroh	o. 0.0
	[widow —]	
1	31 henrich riss	

abrill

1	3 abraham gochnauer	o. 15.0
1	4 david strom	1. 2.6
1	16 hans dewendinger	o. 7.6

1 20 jacob kindig

1 20 jacob schenck . o. 15.0

1 26 hans christ o. 11.3

may

1 2 jacob breneman o. 15.0

1 8 els gleden o. 0.0

[Ellis Clayton]

19 hans leche o. 7.6

1 10 adam merschal

[— Marschall]

1 10 stiwen nilsen o. 7.6

[Wilson]

1 11 jacob thomas o. 15.0

1 12 david gernel o. 7.6

1 14 john rohrer 1. 2.6

1 18 christian lein o. 12.0

1 19 gostus wader o. 15.0

[Augustus —]

1 20 andreas dengerd o. 15.3

1 29 iacob ebroid o. 15.0

1 31 bale eckman o. 7.6

[Billy?]

iunius

1 1 hans behm o. 7.6

— 8 john bennerd 1. 4.9

1 28 daniel longeneger o. 15.0

1 28 henrich eckman o. 15.0

iulius

1 8 iacob werfel o. 15.0

1 11 iacob finrock o. 3.9

1 12 fridrich emich o. 7.6

1 15 iacob lein o. 7.6

I 21 bill mårddschberg	o. 11.2
I 26 iost mone	o. 7.6
I 26 giorge raub	
I 28 susana buschman	o. 15.0
I 28 lisabeth berens	

august

I 1 wallendein hefman	
I 1 hannes leman	o. 7.6
I 2 jacob schab	o. 15.0
I 2 josua reimer	o. 7.6
I 9 abraham meile	1. 2.6
I 13 john gungel	1. 17.6
I 15 john mollen	o. 7.6
[— Mullen]	
I 20 michel gros	o. 15.0
I 22 peter gortner	o. 9.4
[— Gardner]	
I 24 estor kindig	o. 7.6
I 24 fridrich schof	o. 15.0
I 26 ben hart	1. 17.6

september

I 3 jacob herr	o. 15.0
I 4 hannes hipner	o. 15.0
I 8 david gallens	o. 15.0
[— Collins?]	
I 16 jacob kreider	o. 15.0
I 17 lide anderfardsch	
I 18 nans herres	
[Nancy Harris]	
I 19 adam breneman	o. 15.0
I 19 joseb moser	o. 15.0
I 20 iacob stog	11.3
I 21 bennerd	

I 22 henrich beier	o. 15.0
I 23 tschims schnorgres	o. 15.0
I 23 tschims gellen	o. 7.6
I 25 fischer	o. 15.0
I 25 christle kohl	o. 7.6
I 27 peder lein	o. 15.0

october

I 1 christle herr, begweh	o. 15.0
[— Pequea]	
I 4 john m(w?)ärren	o. 15.0
[— Warren?]	
I 7 deden	o. 15.0
[— Dayton]	
I 11 jacob eckman	o. 15.0
— 13 sofina meier	o. 7.6
I 17 john huber, maurer	
I 24 abraham schab	o. 15.0
I 25 giorg lamborns	o. 15.0
[— Lamburns]	

november

I 8 megmollen	
[— McMullen]	
I 23 daniel hauerd	o. 11.3
[— Howard]	
I 26 hans schab	o. 15.0
I 29 honne kindig	o. 15.0
I 30 marden huber	1. 2.6
I 30 beier	o. 15.0
I 1 bille benger	o. 18.9
I 2 henrich huber	o. 15.0
I 10 jacob meier	o. 15.0
I 11 jacob braun, neger	o. 7.6

1 11 jacob eschleman	o. 15.0	mertz
1 12 samuel eisenberger	o. 7.6	
1 14 josua lih	o. 7.6	1 5 john kibartz
[—— Lea]		1 10 henrich schenck
1 17 solomon dening	o. 18.9	1 12 filbina rabinsle
[—— Denning]		1 14 tschims black
2 21 mardin berr	o. 11.3	1 15 raberd dugles
1 26 john rabeson	o. 18.9	[—— Douglas]
[—— Robinson]		1 15 edward brin
		1 15 adam berle
		1 18 john herr
		21 john hennel
		1 23 john dewesle
		1 24 larns meggens
		[Lawrence McGinnis ?]
1 2 hans gochnauer,	o. 15.0	1 10 bab heres, abril
christlos		[Bob Harris, April] *
1 5 samuel string		1 26 den megmollen
— 8 meig resel		[—— McMullen]
1 11 giorg schmid	1. 2.6	1 28 bab herres
— 16 bede flore		[Bob Harris]
1 19 john meier	o. 15.0	1 28 peder grebil
1 20 christle grebil	o. 15.0	
1 21 hannes orth	1. 2.6	
1 24 lisabeth hagin	o. 15.6	
[—— Hocking or Hagan ?]		abril
1 24 brude kindig		
1 28 henrich schab	o. 15.0	1 15 bile allen
		[—— Allen]
		1 22 daniel herr
— 1 tschim h(f?)olden	o. 5.7	1 28 mardin schab
[—— Holden ?]		1 28 cadrina funderschmid
1 4 joesch bauman	1. 17.6	o. 11.3
1 8 john bauman	1. 2.6	1 29 giorg rau
1 21 john wewer	o. 7.6	o. 2.6
1 22 bile wardel	o. 7.6	may
1 jonadan mergle	o. 15.0	1 salomon gremer
1 iacob geis	o. 11.3	1 4 john hart
1 28 Isag holl	o. 18.9	1 5 mery stähr
		o. 7.6

* Confusion in entry.

1 13 ferne schof 6. 7.6
 1 14 john gaslo o. 11.3
 1 21 tschims duchen o. 7.6
 [— Dugan?]

—22 bab güigem (?) o. 7.6

1 24 john hesden o. 7.6
 [— Heston]

1 25 suse neger fardsch(?) o. 15.0

1 25 jos. schob o. 12.6

1 27 bil megfen o. 11.3

[— McFan]

1 29 stiften? beren
 [Stephen Burn or Perrin?]

iunius.

1 2 hans mey

1 16 pulman o. 15.0

17 john ohr

1 jacob riss o. 7.6

1 27 peder gordner o. 7.6
 [— Gardner]

iulius

1 1 john gremer o. 11.3

1 3 bil weid o. 7.6

1 4 tschims reid 1. 2.6
 [— Wright]

1 5 sem wewer 1. 2.6

1 5 iost eckman o. 11.3

1 7 john hess (,) moser o. 15.0

1 9 jacob huber o. 15.0

1 12 tschims nubord
 [— Newport]

1 13 daniel riss o. 15.0

1 16 michel schenck 1. 2.6

1 20 iule o nel
 [Julia O'Neal]

1 27 john herris 1. 2.6
 [— Harris]

august

1 1 henrich kindig, gros o. 15.0

1 4 seimen grof 1. 10.0

1 6 giorg berdsch o. 15.0
 [— Birch]

1 8 john rabesen o. 15.0
 [— Robeson or Robinson?]

1 11 henrich boam o. 15.0

— 14 david goldsen o. 15.0
 [— Coulston]

1 16 ierle honder o. 15.0
 [— Hunter]

1 17 giorg agsen

1 22 fridrich schof o. 15.0

1 22 michael kindig o. 17.6

1 23 samuel fermer o. 15.0
 [— Farmer]

1 24 david olfil o. 15.0
 [— Oldfield]

1 25 john deden o. 7.6
 [— Dayton]

1 27 jacob gisler o. 15.0

1 29 bile braun, neger o. 7.6

1 31 susana herres o. 7.6
 [— Harris]

september

1 9 samuel rohrer 1. 10.0

1 10 jacob brubake 1 o. 11.0

1 12 jeres megfols o. 0.0
 [— McFalls]

1 18 abraham huber	o. 15.0
1 18 henrich eckman	o. 15.0
1 24 christle gämel	o. 7.6
[—— Campbell]	
1 26 linden	o. 7.6
1 27 mardin kindig	o. 21.5

october

1 1 hans schens	
1 3 henrich didrich	1. 2.6
1 4 meglachlen	
[—— McLaughlen]	
1 5 nense stiuard	o.
[Nancy Stewart]	
1 8 abraham schenck	1. 2.6
2 11 valendein gerdner	o. 15.0
1 11 michael finfrock	
1 15 Jacob steiner	1. 2.6
1 17 ulrig leman	o. 7.6
1 25 henrich hog	o. 15.0
[—— Hoak or Hoag?]	
1 26 marde gall	o. 15.0
1 31 john rolen	
[—— Roland]	
1 31 john lerd	o. 11.3
[—— Laird or Lord?]	
1 31 john dietz	o. 11.3

november

1 10 beniamen ber	1. 2.6
1 11 Jacob schenck	1. 2.6
1 13 daniel eckman	1. 1.6
1 19 hannes lein	o. 11.3
1 21 dan rabesen dahter	o. 11.3
[Dan Robinson's daughter]	

1 22 meig schenck	1. 2.0
1 28 wiliam dining	o. 15.0
[—— Denning]	
1 28 tschingens	o. 7.6
[—— Jenkins]	
1 29 tschim dan	o. 15.0
[[Jim Dan]	

december

1 2 giorg doss	o. 7.6
1 3 jacob grof	o. 11.3
1 20 megin	o. 15.0
1 25 bile märdschbeng (?)	
1 27 tschims lang	1. 10.0
1 29 iacob werfel, schu- macher	o. 15.0

1814 januari

1 1 peder riss	o. 7.6
1 12 frans rau	o. 7.6
1 16 john landis	o. 15.0
1 17 samuel mardin	o. 15.0
[—— Martin]	
1 27 bille mahr, schmid	o. 15.0

hornung

1 6 hana mele	o. 7.6
1 13 adam herr	1. 17.6
1 14 jacob herr	o. 18.9
1 15 abraham huber	o. 15.0
1 16 hans bug	o. 15.0
1 17 jacob domas	o. 18.9
[—— Thomas]	
1 19 josua reiner	o. 7.6

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------------------|---------|
| 1 19 edward ganle | 1. 2.6 | 1 12 niglaus hofman | 1. 17.6 |
| 1 22 salamon denning | o. 18.9 | 1 19 iacob fehl | 1. 2.6 |
| [— Denning] | | 21 haleiche | 1. 2.6 |
| 1 27 isag herr | 1. 17.6 | [Hans Leihe] | |
| | | 1 23 hans miller, gremer | o. 7.6 |
| märtz | | [— — Krämer] | |
| | | 1 25 tschims | |
| 1 3 iue aremstrang | o. 15.0 | 1 28 wiliam | o. 7.6 |
| [Joe Armstrong] | | 1 30 samuel hedarn | o. 7.6 |
| 1 5 meig kreider | o. 15.0 | | |
| 16 jacob kohl | o. 15.0 | iunius | |
| 1 6 Josua lihr | o. 7.6 | | |
| 1 7 lenerd gerg | o. 7.6 | 1 1 hans kindig | 1. 2.6 |
| 1 8 franses gachren | | 1 4 hans berr | o. 11.3 |
| [— Cochran] | | 1 4 hans rohrer | 1. 2.6 |
| 1 10 hannes kolb | o. 15.0 | 1 6 jose mares, neger | |
| 1 15 henr. schmid | | 1 12 bab ginigem | o. 7.6 |
| 1 15 frans kindig | 1. 17.6 | — [Cunningham] | |
| 1 19 peder mardin | o. 9.4 | 1 12 iacob schenck, miller | 1. 2.6 |
| [— Martin] | | 1 12 fridrig grug | o. 15.0 |
| 1 22 jacob stefen | 1. 17.6 | 21 Jacob stoner, stras- | |
| [— Stephen(s)] | | borg | o. 15.0 |
| 1 22 badrig muhr] | | 1 21 tschims schnorgres | o. 15.0 |
| [Patrick Moore] | | 1 23 dames gelle | o. 15.0 |
| | | [Thomas Kelly] | |
| abril | | 1 30 bile birsen | |
| | | [Billy Pearson] | o. 15.0 |
| 1 18 hans miller | 1. 10.0 | | |
| 1 20 beniam ber | 1. 17.0 | iulius | |
| 1 22 pider nilsen | 1. 7.6 | | |
| [Peter Nelson?] | | 1 9 raberd bauers | o. 15.0 |
| 1 25 giorg drom | o. 7.6 | 1 10 sem hesden | o. 15.0 |
| 1 27 hannes brubacher | o. 11.3 | [San Heston] | |
| | | 1 17 peder gardner | o. 7.6 |
| meius | | [— Gardner] | |
| | | 1 19 tschimme duchen | o. 9.4 |
| 1 10 fridrich manges | o. 7.6 | [Jimmy Dugan] | |

I 21 iacob mergle	o. 18.9	I 29 manuel kindig	o. 15.0
I 31 adam breneman		I 30 john bleg	I. 17.6
		[— Blake]	
august		I 30 adam mur	
		[— Moore]	
I 1 hans higens		I 30 henrich beier	o. 7.6
[— Higgins]			
2 1 iacob radfon	o. 10.0	october	
I 4 hans ber, wewer	o. 7.6		
I 7 adam steinweg	o. 11.3	I 2 christ schenck	I. 2.6
I 12 bege straud	o. 7.6	I 2 melcher ber	I. 17.6
[Becky —]		[Melchior —]	
I 15 iacob gochnauer	o. 15.0	I 4 John, neger	o. 7.6
I 7 jacob himmelreich	o.	I 6 peder leim	o. 7.6
august		october	
I 19 david golsden	10.5.0	I 7 michel heberstich	I. 2.6
[— Coulston]		[— Haverstick]	
I 21 jacob brememan	10.5.0	I 11 henrich braun	o. 18.9
I 22 joseb erb	o. 7.6	I 13 hanes roth	I. 2.6
I 26 tschims gällen	o. 9.4	I 16 giorg kindig	o. 11.3
[— Galen or Collins?]		I 19 gönigem bäden	o. 15.0
sebdember		[Cunningham —]	
I 10 bege mogelerger	o. 7.6	I 21 rosel	
[Becky McGallagher]		I 22 made kindig, neger	
I 12 *gros henrich didrich	o. 15.0	november	
I 13 abraham huber,		I 1 adam brede	o. 7.6
wewer	o. 15.0	[— Brady]	
I 20 hans meffel, neger	o. 7.6	I 2 emich	o. 7.6
21 jacob steiner	o. 18	I 5 jacob piders	o. 7.6
I 21 john gremer	o. 18.8	[— Peters]	
I 23 ben grin, neger	o. 9.4	I 9 hans helms	o. 18.9
[— Green]		I 13 jacob stog	o. 9.4
I 27 john grin, neger		I 19 hans meik	I. 13.9

* "Big," &c.

1 25 jacob eschleman 0.15.0
 1 25 hans feitz 0.15.0
 1 25 iasle braun
 1 25 nide gemmel 0. 7.6
 [— Campbell]
 1 26 isag peders
 [— Peters]

december

1 7 josef bauman 1. 2.6
 1 10 bile habel
 1 13 john flore
 1 15 meig gross
 1 18 john schab
 1 26 john herman 0.15.0
 1 27 john robeson, glein 1.10.0
 1 31 abraham gechnauer 0.15.0

1815 ianuari

1 4 jacob bachman 1.10.0
 1 5 tschims bläck 1. 2.6
 [— Black]
 1 16 jacob geis 1. 2.6
 2 17 bodler, neger
 1 28 john wewer 0. 7.6
 1 29 peder lein 1.17.6

hornung

1 4 john bauman, miller 1. 2.6
 1 10 giorg werfel 0. 9.4
 1 14 mardin kern 0. 7.6
 1 18 jes. dedig 1. 2.6
 1 21 henrich koch

1 25 giorg wengert
 1 26 roberd beyerd
 [— Bayard]
 mertz

1 1 peder gubel 0.18
 1 6 joseb guth 1. 2.6
 1 9 samuel eisenberger 0. 7.6
 1 10 henrich hog - 15.0
 [— Hoke?]
 19 david gibson
 john mares 1. 2.6
 1 23 tschim Neubord 0. 9.4
 [Jim Newport]
 1 31 aleford 0. 7.6
 [Alford]

april

1 4 adam rau brubacher 0.18.9
 1 8 hans hesden
 [— Heston]
 1 11 edward brin 0.15.0
 [— Brine or O'Brien?]
 - 12 john huber, mauerer 0.15.0
 1 17 joseb grof, alder 1. 2.6
 [*Sr.*]
 1 20 giorg agser 0.15.0
 1 20 widerseil (?) 0.15.0
 1 21 abraham huber, schum 0.15.0
 1 22 john gungel 0.11.3
 [— Kunkel]

may

1 6 samuel martin 0.15.0

I 14	hans zanger	o. 18.3
I 18	jacob schab	o. 15.0
I 19	tomas alens	o. 15.0
	[— Allens]	
I 21	chaleb merschel	o. 7.6
	[Caleb Marschal]	
I 22	giorg ran	I. 2.6
I 24	daniel huber	o. 15.0
I 25	andreas megin	o. 15.0
	[— McKean or McKune?]	

iunius

I 3	fridrich oel	o. 11.3
I 11	tschims grims	o. 11.3
I 13	meig mogelrei	o. 7.6
	[— McElroy]	
I 19	bill dulen	o. 15.0
	[— Dolan]	
I 20	jacob Kreider	o. 15.0
I 23	jacob meier	o. 7.6
I 24	bil weith	
	[— White]	
I 27	john simson	I. 2.6
	[— Simson]	

iuli

I 11	bernhard sigman	I. 7.6
I 15	john winder	
I 18	abraham schenck	I. 2.6
I 22	cadrina stühr	

august

I 5	giorg hemaldon	.7.6
	[— Hamilton]	

I 7	deidschlender*	o. 11.3
	[Didn't know name?]	
I 9	jacob braun	
I 11	tschims duclien	o. 11.3
— 14	john dewesle	
I 16	daniel ritz	o. 7.6
I 19	jacob staner	o. 18.9
I 22	daniel riss	I. 2.6
I 24	david herr, miller	I. 2.6
I 25	henrich grug	o. 11.3
I 29	schneider	

I 30	henrich riss	o. 15.0
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september

I 2	giorg serger	o. 11.3
I 2	sus, neger	o. 15.0
I 9	jose miller	
I 11	bile berger	I. 2.6
I 13	iacob wewer	o. 11.3
I 16	ben hart	
I 20	henrich eckman	o. 15.0
I 21	david olfil	
	[— Oldfield]	

sebtember

I 21	wiliam braun, neger	o. 7.6
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october

I 3	samuel	o. 15.0
I 4	jacob werfel	o. 15.0
I 7	bege onel	o. 7.6
	[Becky O'Neil]	
I 9	lues jeiers	o. 15.0
	[Lewis —]	

1 12 adam beuher	o. 7.6	27 1 bege schmit	o. 7.6
1 15 christle rohrer, big	o. 18.9	[Becky —]	
[big or stout?]		30 1 martin huber	1. 2.6
1 15 jacob schenck	o. 18.9		
1 19 abraham huber	o. 18.9	abril	
1 21 esaias schans	1. 2.6		
1 27 peder riss	o. 11.3	13 1 wiliam borns	o. 7.6
- 27 john henrimen (?)	o. 7.6	[William Burns]	
1 29 marde huber	1. 2.6	15 2 hans alexander	o. 7.6
2 31 john groff	1. 17.6	16 1 edword schwenie	
		[Edward Sweeney]	
november		19 1 davit gerdner	o. 7.6
		22 1 giorg rab	o. 7.6
1 1 frider meier	1. 17.6	24 1 joseph miller	1. 17.6
1 1 john bre	o. 15.0		
[Bray]		maius	
1 7 andres ris			
1 9 salomen	o. 11.3	13 1 martin schob	o. 15.0
1 10 boi ausfler	o. 7.6	16 1 daniel langenger	o. 15.0
1 13 sein miller	1. 2.6	[Daniel Longenecker]	
1 15 johan christ		17 1 john werfel	o. 16. 10
*		21 1 jacob keberle	o. 7.6

merz

uinius

2 1 daniel gleden	o. 7.6	8 1 iacob gergen	o. 15.0
[Daniel Clayton]		12 1 giorg seitz	o. 11.3
11 1 christian herr	1. 17.6	25 1 hahnes hes	o. 11.3

* These entries could not be located, but evidently belong to the earlier part of the Record.

I.

1791.	29 buben	}	64	b	///2//////////
	35 med		m	//////////	
1792.	18 buben	}	42	b	//////////
	24 med		m	////////2////////	
					/oo
1793.	23 buben	}	37	b	////////2////////
	14 med		m	//////////	
1794.	25 buben	}	54	b	//////////
	29 med		m	//////////	
				b m 2	
1795.	37 buben	}	56	b	///2////////2////////2////////
	23 med		m	//////////	
				/oo	
1796.	20 buben	}	41	b	//////////
	21 med		m	//////////	
1797.	28 buben	}	48	b	////////2//////////
	20 med		m	//////////	
				/oo	
1798.	25 buben	}	40	b	//////////
	15 med		m	//////////	
1799.	25 buben	}	53	b	////////2//////////
	28 med		m	//////////	
				b m 2	/oo
1800.		}	48	b	//////////
			m	//////////	
1801.	23 buben	}	46	b	//////////
	23 medlen		m	//////////	
				/oo	
1802.	20 buben	}	44	b	//////////
	24 medlen		m	//////////	
1803.	40 buben	}	70	b	//////////
	30 med		m	//////////	
				/oo	
1804.	30 buben	}	54	b	//////////
	24 med		m	//////////	
				/oo	

II.

1805.	39 buben 26 med	}	65	b	////////////////////
			m	////////////////2////////	
1806.	40 buben 37 med	}	77	b	////////////////////
			m	////////////////////	
1807.	51 buben 41 med	}	92	b	////////////////////
			m	////////////////////	
					/oo
1808.	41 b 51 m	}	92	b	////////////////////
			m	////////////////////	
					/oo
1809.	51 b 38 m	}	89	b	////////////////////
			m	b m 2 ////////////////////	
					/oo /oo
*1810.	64 b 31 m	}	95	b	////////////////2////////
			m	////////////////2////////	
					/oo
*1811.	51 b 54 m	}	105	b	////////////////////
			m	b m 2 ////////////////////	
					/oo
*1812.	51 b 64 m	}	115	b	////////////////////
			m	b m 2 2 2 ////////////////////	
					/oo
1813.	44 b 70 m	}	114	b	////////////////////
			m	////////////////////	
					/oo

III.

1814.	52 b	}	110	b	////////////////////////////////////
	58 m		m	////////////////////////////////2////////	
1815.	b	}		b	////////
	m		m	2////////	

* These three numbers are written in the MS. 18010, 18011, 18012.



BENJ. HERR'S JOURNAL 1830.

SEPTEMBER 6th, 1830

I, and my cousin started, on our journey from Strasburg in the stage ; it was nearly full ; the day was pleasant,—it was cloudy,—we were not incommoded with dust. We had for a passenger a soldier of the revolution, a great lover of liquor, which circumstance occasioned sport concerning him. Arrived in Phil. at 6 o'clock, and lodged at Taylor's Hotel.

SEPTEMBER 7th

A cloudy day, very sultry—in the afternoon took a letter from A. G. to Dr. Keagy, steward of the house of refuge—were politely received ; took us through the different apartments ;—great order, neatness and convenience seem to reign. It certainly is well adapted to the end for which it was instituted ;—the reformation of youthful offenders & idlers who have no person to take care of them. The cookery is done in a most simple and economical way. There is a regular supply of water, which forms what may be termed a coating round the sides of a stove heated by coal ;—the steam can escape by means of a safety tube when the pressure becomes too great. By means of this apparatus a can of cold water can be made to boil in a few seconds, and in cooking for the community there is little expense of time and fuel.

SEPT. 8th

Went to the academy of fine arts, spent about 2 or 4 hours there—saw the graces casts by Canova, beautiful looking figures ; likewise two of his Venus's. Saw three ingenious carvings by Aubert, from the root of a tree in Switzerland, which represented flowers in vases and pitchers, with birds and bird's nests filled with young ones & eggs. Went to the exhibition of the model of a railroad car, constructed by a mechanic of Kentucky. It moves about in a room at the rate of 8 or 10 miles an hour,—two persons can sit in

the car attached to the engine. We got two rides—half of the wheel of the car runs on the rail—the other half projects outside of it. Had rain in the evening.

SEPTEMBER 9th

This morning left Philadelphia, and took passage in the Citizens' line for New York, wind northerly, weather cooler and clouds clearing away. Pleasant sailing up the Delaware,—the country delightful on the Penn. side, with fine residences. Touched at Burlington 18 miles from P. a small town ; also, at Bristol, Pa., a very neat and pleasant looking place, thence proceeded to Bordentown, 30 miles from Phil. There took the stage to Washington, 24 miles. Bordentown is a small village. We went by Joseph Bonaparte's residence, and by his lands for several miles,—things are fixed very well, & his gardens look delightful, but the soil is thin. Hightstown and Cranberry are little villages on the way. Sailed from Wash. on the Raritan to New York. The Raritan is a small stream,—it is very clean looking ;—a kind of swamp grass around the edges, so that one sees no earth, and the river seems to lie between the grass, each side forming a regular curve line, on each side the marshes extend a considerable distance into the country, and along the river without interruption to Perth Amboy, 15 miles from N. Y. A great deal of hay is made here, & we were informed that cargoes of it are sent to Norfolk, Va. The hay is stacked where it is made as they cannot haul it away, until winter, when the ground is frozen. Opposite to P. Am. is Staten Island ;—between it and N. Jers. is an outlet to the ocean. P. A. has a fine situation—the largest vessels can come up to it. The soil of N. J. is poor and sandy, the timber is small ;—it is very level—the turnpikes are not made of stone—it is a scarce article in this state. Saw a peach orchard consisting of about 30 or 40 acres ;—many and excellent peaches and apples are produced here. Approached N. Y. towards sunset—it was a most pleasant evening—the scene was beautiful. Staten Island on one side, presenting a gentle eminence, with neat enclosures and habitations ; on the other side a small island or two, with a distance view of Newark a little before us, the water extending out on both sides, several forts planted on its bosom, ships at anchor, further onward the city with its shipping ; a balloon sailing in the air towards Ph. & at length losing itself in the west where the sun was just setting, shedding abroad its latest beams and flinging around every thing a mellow richness of colouring : all had an impressive effect and

yielded us a good portion of delight and satisfaction. We landed about dusk, and took lodgings at the Washington Hotel ; went to Park Theatre, saw young Kean performing Sir Edward Mortimer ; a splendid theatre, a full house, some elegant scenery in the afterpiece.

SEPT. 10th 1830

Walked through the city, visited the city Hall and Exchange,—the former is a beautiful building, situated north of the park in Broadway. This street extends from north to south through the centre of the city.

SEPTEMBER 11th

Went twice to Dan Owen to deliver a letter from A. G.—Was not at home,—went to the northern part of the town, thence down the eastern side along the wharf, to Castle Garden and the battery, thence to the Arcade,—it bears no comparison to the Phila. Arcade, the apartments are all occupied.

SEPT. 12.

Went to St. Paul's church, Broadway thence into the churchyard, viewed the monuments and tombstones, met with an Englishman who came to this country in June,—had most agreeable conversations with him for two hours—gave us some description of London, of the government and condition of England. He came here with intention to settle, but had lost his wife and so was uncertain, seemed very intelligent ; I have not encountered any person since we left home with whom I was so well pleased. Went to the hall of science in the evening—heard a debate on the evidences of Christianity. Lectures on Chemistry are here delivered on Sunday morning.

SEPT. 13th

Walked along Canal street to Hudson square, west from Broadway,—this is the most regular part of the town & very pleasant. Settled our business and prepared for starting away the next morning. There seems not so much uniformity to reign among the people of N. Y. as those of Phil. Neither are the houses so much alike ; a small house frequently stands between two splendid ones, even in Broadway. This is the principle street, & the great promenade for fashionables. No Street of P. exhibits such a scene of people, and of gayety. The exchange is a large and fine building of marble east of Broadway,—here merchants transact business. The City Hall makes a beautiful

appearance as you come up Broadway from the south. The Hospital is further North & Bridewell is at the side of the C. Hall. Private buildings generally I think are not so tasteful as in Phil. ; for steps and door frames they mostly use a kind of brown stone & a great deal of iron railing ; the railing, stone, and other parts of the house seem not to have enough of contrast to have a good effect. Their horses are not so good as in P.—but carriages, chariotees, &c are much more in use. Some parts of the city are very irregular, yet not so much so as I expected. There is a great deal of shipping here,—the ships extending almost entirely round the city. There are several fortifications on different parts, at & near the city, as, Fort Lafette, between Long & Staten island, Castle Williams on Governor's island & the fortified islands of Elis and Bedlow, also the North Battery and Castle Clinton, which is now a place of amusement.

SEPT. 14th

Left our Hotel,—price of boarding \$1 50 cts per day, started for Albany at 7 o'clock in the morning, on board the steamboat North-America, a large and elegant boat, had about 300 passengers—fare two dollars, meals extra 50 cts. We had delightful weather since our arrival at N. Y., and this day was particularly fine. I had not slept much last night, feeling a little unwell, hence, felt a little dull in the morning, but the fine scenery along the Hudson, soon enlivened me, so that I passed most agreeably this day. I was quite charmed with the course up this river. The palisades a range of rocks, from 20 to 500 or 600 feet in height; extending about 20 miles along the West bank ; the situation where Hamilton fell in a duel ; the ruins of fort Lee & Washington, further on of fort Independence, then Tarrytown where Major Andre was taken captive & Tappan the place where he was executed ; the recollections which these objects revive of the Revolutionary war, combined with the fine scenery make this part of our route very interesting. Next commence the Highlands 40 miles from N. Y. Here there are wild and romantic views ; here also is the scene of military events,—the most celebrated are those which took place on Stony-point and West-point. On Stony-point is a light-house at W. P is Kosciusko's Monument, that of a military cadet, the U. S Military Academy, & the ruins of Fort Putnam. Between Stony & West-Point, are remains of Forts Clinton & Montgomery,—these points & forts are all on the west side. Anthony's nose opposite the latter forts rises 1128 ft. high, beyond them on the west Bare Mount.

1350 ft. Above W. Point are Crows-nest and Butter-hill on the West & Bull-Hill & Break-neck-hill on the east, which are elevated from 1100 to 1600 ft above the level of the Hudson. About 60 miles from N. Y. is Newburgh, capital of Orange county,—there is a fine view of it from the river, some fine buildings in it. Poughkeepsie, 75 miles from N. Y., one has little sight of ;—it is Capital of Dutchess county, contains 2700 inhabitants. 40 miles further is the city of Hudson, 3000 inhab. capital of Columbia county, opposite Athens, a small old village. 110 miles from N. Y is the village Catskill, from which the road leads to the Catskill Mountains,—from here 12 miles to the pine orchard. 32 miles from N. Y. is the State prison at Sing-sing, built of hewn free stone. The country along this Hudson seems very barren and little cultivated,—there are a good number of small villages, and, towards Albany, some fine country seats. Arrived at A. about 7 o'clock P. M. 145 miles from N. Y., lodged at State street house.

SEPT. 15th

In the morning viewed the Albany basin, is 4000 ft in length,—a very wide pier built of logs, between it and the river,—much lumber on it, brought down the river & the Northern Canal ; two bridges over it, both having draws for the passage of sloops ; walked around and through the town, some fine marble buildings in it, as the Alb. Bank, Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and several churches. State street is a fine wide street.—the capitol is very conspicuous, coming from the wharf up this street. A small distance from the wharf in, the bank is level, but then a considerable rise takes place, to the Capitol. Hogs run every where through the streets, and these are in some places narrow, irregular and filthy. Though the town is larger than Lancaster, there does not appear so much dandyism, and withal, people have much more employment. In the afternoon went to the top of the Capitol—a good view from this place Greenbush on the opposite bank, and higher up the U. S. barracks ; Troy to the north, Albany around it, the course of the Hudson, and the Catskill Mountains to the south-west. In front of this building, and the Academy, a little north of it are enclosed walks,—the name is Park-place. A new building of marble is going up, styled the City Hall. Alb. is said to contain 15 or 16000 inhab. There are strange looking old gothic houses in it, gable-ends facing the streets, generally covered with tiles. The state-house is covered with copper.

SEPT. 16.

Mornings and evenings becoming cool. After dinner went in the steamboat Fairlee to Troy, 7 miles, passage 12½ cts. This is a very neat and pleasant place, quite beyond my expectation. A wonderful place for stages ; many from the north.

SEPT. 17th

In the morning ascended Mount Ida a hill east of Troy, a fine view from here, saw an extensive place of burial used by the Trojans. At the side of this runs a small stream, called Wynantskill, on it a small distance up are several mills, & a cotton manufactory, it has made its way through a hill, from the banks of which there is a great depth to the water ; presents several waterfalls. From this place went to W. Troy & Gibbonsville, west of the river, visited the U. S. Arsenal, here is a great collection of arms, & accoutrements necessary for an army ; after this passed up the canal to the junction of the Northern and Western canal, took the Northern to Waterford, below which place it crosses the Mohawk river which is dammed & feeds the canal. Above the dam are the Cohoes Falls ;—these are very pretty, are precipitated from a height of 68 feet. Half a mile further north is Waterford, a pretty considerable village, is situated between the Champlain & Hudson river, 11 miles from Alb. 4 from Troy. The canal & locks have a very handsome appearance.

SEPT. 18.

Had a very cool night, frost, buckwheat frozen ;—took a walk after breakfast to the bridge over the Mohawk, 1 mile from Waterford, to the Cohoes falls about ½ a mile further west, went up the Western Canal some distance. Commencing at the junction, are 9 locks within a small distance on the Erie canal, this circumstance delays the passage very much, so that it requires a day for boats to go to Schenectady from Albany. In the afternoon fell in with the owner of a kind of dearborne & bargained with him to take us to the lower aqueduct for 37½ cts ;—here we took passage in a boat for Schenectady, 16 miles where we arrived at 12 o'clock. The lower aqueduct over the Mohawk is a great work of art ; it is upwards of 1100 ft in length, and stands on 26 piers. The upper one is between 700 & 750 ft. in length.

SEPT 19th.

Nights and mornings exceedingly cool three or four days past. This morning hired a horse and gig for going to Saratoga and Ballston. The country along the road to these places is not fertile ; some parts,

however, seem tolerably good, and their appearance and improvements pretty. The wood generally is pine. From Ball. to Sar. the road is sandy, otherwise roads seem to be excellent in this part of the country. We met a good number of folks going to church or meeting ; those who did not walk generally rode in a little wagon, on which was placed a kind of box, which seemed to serve on a farm. These boxes were sometimes very much crowded ; quite gay looking ladies were conveyed in them. We concluded, consequently, that people here were not quite so much concerned in what kind of a vehicle they rode as with us. Met hardly any who were on horseback. At Sar. took dinner in Union Hall, tasted the water of Congress spring, very similar to Epsom salt ; of Hamilton spring, more disagreeable, sweeter, not so effervescent as the former ; of Washington spring, intermediate between the two former, and of Flat-rock spring, the water of which seemed more sharp and has a greater taste of sulphur. The water of Congress spring is chiefly used, and the proprietor bottles a great deal of it and sells it. In this town are four principal public houses for visitors, these are closed when the summer season is over, they are Congress Hall, Union Hall, U. S Hotel and the Pavilion ; boarding \$10 per week, except U. H 8 dol. The buildings are large and airy, the whole town is pleasant and summer like, as if not adapted for winter ; nearly every house you see professes to be a boarding-house. After dinner hied to Ballston-Spa, 7 miles from Sar. and 14 from Schen., tasted the water of two springs, had not time to taste all ; it seemed not so saline and strong as the Saratoga water. In Ball. there is one principal house, termed the Sans Souci Hotel, for the accommodation of visitors ; 150 persons can here be provided for—the same number at C. H., Sar. The Ballston water is mostly chalybeate, some springs contain both iron and salts. The Flat Rock spring in Sar. is chalybeate, but far inferior to the Ball. springs. Returned to S.

SEPT. 20th.

In the morning viewed Schenectady, an old looking town, irregular streets ; a good number of houses seem to have been built since the canal has been in operation. Lodged at Davis's City Hotel. 10 o'clock left Schen. in a canal boat ; travelled this day and night.

SEPT. 21st.

In the morning came in view of Little Falls. This place is quite interesting, highly wild looking and irregular. The great road, the river and the canal are all at the commencement of this valley carried

along a very narrow width. Canal embankment some places 20 ft high rises out of the channel of the Mohawk. L. F is uncommonly rocky, consisting of a kind of limestone, and the lower strata of the hills and the channel of the river of granite. The appearance of the place seems to make it very probable that a body of water above tore through the mountain to the east, the present opening. It is wonderful what holes the water has washed in the rocks at many places, one rock below the canal has an orifice entirely through it ; these appearances I was told could be traced at a good height up the side of the hills which surround the place. Fossil organic remains are found here, also beautiful rock chrystals. We went for some, got a few by means of breaking portions of the rock ; they are loosely imbedded in it. The aqueduct over the river at this place is considered the best mason work on the canal—it is very pretty. L. F is 58 miles from Schen. and 22 from Utica. After tarrying here 4 or 5 hours we started on the canal to Frankfort, 13 miles ; lodged for the night ; a small collection of houses here. The sheriff happened to be here with 5 convicts for Sing Sing, two ran away and could not be found that night.

SEPT. 22d.

Had a little rain last night ; cloudy ; passed early on to Utica ; arrived after 7 o'clock. Hired a horse and gig for Trenton falls ; started, before 12 of the clock, down the bank to them. I was extremely delighted ; never saw any thing equal to this scene. You stand in a deep chasm, rocks nearly perpendicular and in horizontal layers, more or less than 9 inches in thickness, rise on each side ; these are overtopped with beautiful cedar and hemlock trees ; at some parts the trees extend down to the stream. Looking to the North one of the falls is seen rushing down a wall of rock, and just before you are several violent rapids. The walk along the stream extends $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, but the rapids and falls continue 2 miles further. In the former distance are 4 cataracts—the second is the highest ; along the whole line is a various succession of falls, rapids, eddies, pools and culm basins. The path leads along the western side—sometimes it leads under the rocks which project over the chasm and are 150 feet in height. The wearing of the rocks by the water is very apparent, particularly at the upper end of the walk. Chrystals are found in these rocks and a great number of petrifications. The stream is called West Canada creek—it is the principal branch of the Mohawk.

SEPT. 23d.

Cloudy this morning, warm, took a walk around Utica, a pleasant town, wide streets, situated in a very fine country—many new buildings are raised. Between Little Falls and this town is a very level, fertile country,—it is bounded by hills, in view, on each side, from 1 mile to 8 distant from the canal. Three miles from L. F. the German Flats commence—the name of this valley. About 13 miles from the latter town is Lock No. 53 where the long level commences, which reaches to Salina $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Utica is capital of Oneida county. Pop. 8000. Left this at 2 o'clock P. M. in the Packet-boat, passed through several villages, the most considerable Whitestown, Oriskany and Rome, 20 miles from Utica,—here is the old U. S. arsenal. At this place night overtook us, so that we could see no more of the country. We passed several Indian villages at night.

SEPT. 24th

In the morning 5 o'clock arrived at Syracuse 62 miles from Utica,—a pleasant place, every thing new. After breakfast walked to Salina $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north, on the Oswego canal, which leads to lake Ontario. Here is the salt spring which supplies the manufactories here, at Syracuse, Liverpool, and Geddesburg. The water is raised 70 ft. by a forcing pump into a reservoir whence it flows to Syracuse, 124,000 gallons in 24 hours may be raised. The process which they make use of at Salina for evaporating the water is by boiling it in kettles, about 30 of which are heated by one furnace. In two manufactories the evaporation is carried on by means of heated air. Solar evaporation is made use of at Syr. also at the other villages and the vats are supposed to cover 500 acres of land at all the places which this spring supplies. Left. Sy. before noon in a line boat, and halted at Jordan for the night 20 miles above the former place. The weather quite warm. Since we left Little Falls we have seen the land much more fertile than we had seen any where else in New York or New Jersey—the timber some places is tall and heavy. A great deal along the canal is dying where the country is level, and it is probable this is caused by the canal which in many places is higher than the adjoining land, so that the water soaks through and causes too much wetness for the growth of the wood. The cleared land here is generally covered with stumps, and the improvements new.

SEPT. 25th.

About 10 o'clock A. M. took passage on the Packet for Rochester, arrived at this place the next morning between 6 and 7 o'clock. Had rain all the day ; was very unpleasant ; rain in the night.

SEPT. 26th.

Rochester is a fine town—every thing is new ; the country around is pleasant, and some of the land seems to be of a good quality. There are 13 large flour mills at the Genesee river ; in the town a beautiful aqueduct and a great number of basins. In the forenoon we walked to the fall in the river, at the northern extremity of the town ; saw the rock from which Sam Patch jumped, no more to rise, the height of which is 90 ft. On this precipice a scaffold was erected 20 or 30 ft in height, from it he leaped. We went 2 miles further north to Carthage falls—here is a wild looking spot—the rocky banks below the falls are lofty, precipitous, and some places they project considerably over the valley below. Heard Mr. Finney preach, in the evening, in the Presbyterian church ; house crowded ; I was delighted with his sermon ; I should think he is gifted with a degree of oratory.

SEPT. 27th.

Left Clinton house, where we had lodged, at 3 o'clock in the morning in the stage for Lockport and Lewiston ; weather disagreeable and rainy ; travelled on what is termed the ridge-road, north of the canal. This road is on an elevation of lands, which extends from Roch. to Lewist. and a good distance into Canada ; the road is fine—needs no repairing. A wonderful proportion of peach and apple orchards are along this road ; the trees were very full of fruit ; tolerably good land. On the road near Lock. is, what is termed, the 11 mile woods, lately uncultivated, now presenting a forest of stumps, of half burnt and of dead trees. Dined at L. ; before dinner viewed the locks, which make a beautiful appearance. Surprising difficulties have been overcome by art, at this place 5 double locks, one immediately behind the other, are presented to the view. Above is the deep cut, where the canal has been dug through solid rock to a great depth. Petrifications and chrySTALLIZED salts are found in abundance ; we bought a few specimens. About 8 o'clock arrived at Lewiston, on the Niagara.

SEPT. 28th.

Were ferried across the river to Queenstown—here an action took place, in the last war between the Americans and the British, in which Gen. Brock was killed. A monument is erected to his memory, 128 feet is its height from the surface of the ground, and the elevation of the hill on which it stands above the level of the river is between 3 or 400 ft. A spiral staircase with 170 steps leads to the top. We went up, had a fine view with the telescope of the surrounding objects—the river Niag. to its entrance into the lake, the forts on each side, some villages and a great extent of country. From here, went in the stage to N. Falls, on the Canada side, fare 50 cts, dist. 7 miles, also 7 to Fort Niag. mouth of the river. From Lew. to Lo. 20 miles, thence to Ro. 65 miles, fare \$2.50. Queenstown and Lewiston are small, unimportant villages. We stopped at the Pavilion, kept by Mr. Forsyth; went to Table rock, before dinner, then down the staircase, and viewed the fall from below; the staircase has 104 steps—25 cts expected. One dollar is charged for going behind the falls, and being furnished with a guide and suitable dress. In going back, the spray, almost immediately, drenches one to the skin. The distance a person can go is 153 feet, to Termination Rock. Persons of weak lungs it is said should not venture, on account of the difficulty of breathing. The Cataract is 174 ft. perpendicular—an astonishing scene. In the afternoon we again went to see it, and, thence, passed up the river 1 mile to the burning spring. Had a good view of the rapids,—these, if not so near the falls, would be looked upon with wonder; it seems as if the troubled waters were leaping, with all possible speed, to be precipitated into the Abyss below,—as if the waves were struggling with one another which should first be engulfed, to mingle again, in apparent peace, with its neighbouring wave. The rapids extend upwards of half a mile up the river. The Burning spring is a curiosity,—the water is impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen gas. A fabric of boards is built over it—a kind of cap or barrel placed over it, so that the gas rises through a copper tube, which is inserted. If the flame of a candle be applied, it burns, very beautifully, the height of the flame being, perhaps, 18 or 24 inches. If the cap be taken off, and the candle or lighted paper introduced near the surface of the water, a flame rises from the whole surface. The water is dark and warm; the exhalation has a strong fetid smell. Admission 12½ cts.

This was a fine day ; the morning cloudy ; afternoon clear ; had several visitors at Forsyth, perhaps 20 or 30. Tolerably cool ; fine rainbow at the fall.

SEPT. 29th.

Crossed the river, below the falls, in a ferry boat, before breakfast. The bank is higher on the American side than the British. One must ascend, part of the way, by means of a spiral staircase. The scene is beautiful as one crosses the stream—the whole of the cataract is in view and northwardly, are the high banks, with their partial covering of evergreens, while the deep, and dark river, rolls between, still having the marks of previous disturbance. The ferry man had caught geese which during the night were swept over the fall ; ferriage 25 cts. Took breakfast at the Eagle Tavern, then went to Goat-island—this divides the fall—much the greater quantity of water goes to the British side. There is a bridge extends from the island a small distance into the river, and directly over the edge of the cataract. From it, we had a fine view—the confused water below, is best seen from this point. A staircase was erected sometime ago, by Mr Biddle of Phil. at his own expense which leads to the foot of the falls—we went within 10 ft of them. The banks below are from 180 to nearly 300 ft in height ; they are often perpendicular, sometimes projecting, and always, very steep. They consist of rock in horizontal strata, the layers not being always well defined. We discovered petrified moss, and some dogtooth spar in the rock ; also a kind of salt, which has a taste similar to Glauber's. A fine walk extends along the rapids, on Goat-island ; the place is covered with fine trees, and must be delightful in warm weather. 25 cts is the toll required for crossing the bridge, and at its end is a small museum of shells from the Pacific, minerals, found at the place, petrifications, a large swan, which had been swept over the falls, and a few other animals. Manchester is the name of the town on the U. S side. Near the foot of the staircase from the island is the place where Sam Patch jumped—a part of the scaffold is yet remaining, it was upwards of 100 ft in height. After leaving the island we visited Catlin's cave—such a walk of difficulty I never had. A wonderful quantity of petrified moss is here—a hole, barely admitting a man, opens into a small cavern of little consequence. Returning, we clambered up the rocks to the level country, a height of nearly 100 ft, and by this means obviated the necessity walking along the rocky precipices. About 2 o'clock we started in the stage for Buffalo, distant 22 miles, fare 1 dol. The

day was beautiful, and there was company at the hotel—the Russian ambassador formed one of it—several other Russians, a German, and a man from St. Croix W. I. The latter rode with us to Buf. He was a traveller, spoke of London and Paris, of the earthquakes in S. A. and the Volcano of St. Vincent. The road to B. leads along the river ; it is a majestic sheet of water ; at Tonawanta creek 11 miles the road meets the canal, after which the two pass to B at the side of the river. Grand island belonging to Jews, and extending 18 miles, nearly to B. lies in this stream. Black-rock is a small village 3 miles from B. Here is a large basin for canal boats, and ferries for crossing into Canada. Buffalo is delightfully situated, a considerable town—it very probably will become a large town, being the point where the canal and lake navigation terminates.

SEPT. 30th.

Departed from Buf. in the Steam-boat Superior for Sandusky, fare 8 dol. Sup. the best boat on the lake. Had high wind—the water very boisterous, the boat made but little headway, wind being S W by W. Had progressed about 12 miles till 3 o'clock P. M. at the rate of 3 miles an hour. Anchored, at this time, at a place called Abenne point, on the Canada side ; remained here till 2 o'clock next morning. The great motion of the waves, consequently rocking of the boat produced much squalmishness on board. I was not much affected, yet I sometimes felt disagreeable.

SEPT. 31st.

Saw nothing—all a confused chaos—can't remember anything—very true.

OCTOBER 1st.

A delightful day, little wind, boat proceeding finely ; at 1 o'clock arrived in Erie harbor 90 miles from Buf. ; did not land, so could not well view the town—perceived that it extended for a good length, from east to west, it is 90 miles from B.

OCT. 2d.

Before break of day arrived at Cleveland, thence proceeded to the mouth of Black river, halted awhile, after which we went on to Sandusky, where we landed about 4 o'clock—here is a good bay and harbour. We saw fine buildings along the shore between Cleveland and Sandusky. The latter village is inconsiderable, and the land around it seems to be not of a good quality.

Oct. 3d.

This morning started in the stage for Cincinnati, fare 11 dol. dist. 213 miles ; lodged at Upper Sandusky 67 miles distant. At this place is a reservation of lands for the Indians, consisting of upwards of 100,000 acres ; it has little wood on it ; the plains are called prairies ; they appear fertile. Wild hogs it is said exist in them. On these plains is the spot where Crawford was defeated in the revolutionary war ; we saw the marks of the balls on a collection of trees, by moonlight—it was before we came to Sandusky. The country, thus far, is very level—bears large wood, a great deal of white oak and beech—no pine, hemlock or cedar ; is very little cultivated ; the land is of a good quality ; some places are unhealthy.

Oct. 4th.

To-day, went to Springfield 74 miles ; appearance of the country similar to yesterday to Urbana, 14 miles north of our destination ; here the land is very much cleared, and thickly settled.

Oct. 5th.

Left Springfield and found ourselves in Cin. before sunset. We had very delightful weather since we were on the road ; it was full moon, so we had starlight when we rode at night. The roads generally were good, but at some places between San. and Spring. they were bad—in wet weather it is said impassable ; from Spring. to Cin. they were good excepting more hilly and stony. Taken in general the country through which we passed is very fertile, it will be a delightful portion of the U. S. when once well improved ; the crops of corn are every where good ; the wood is tall and heavy, and you see no ridges of rock north of Spring. From this town to Cincinnati, the features of the country are somewhat altered, you find an alternation of gentle ups and downs ; no high hills, yet some steep eminences ; you find rocks and stones planted and scattered with more profusion, and the rills and rivers urge on their waters with more celerity. Urbana, Springfield, Xenia, and Lebanon, are considerable towns, and there are several fine country residences along the road. We had fine company in our coach—very entertaining. Mr Howard of Del. Mr. Evans of Cin. Mr Gregory an Englishman, Mr. Lawrence of Phil. and Mrs. Gill of Cin. were among the passengers. Nine miles from Spring. are the Yellow Springs, a place of resort for people of fashion and wealth in the summer season ; our stage halted and went to the spring and tasted the water ; it has not much of a mineral taste ; the water is said

to be impregnated with Magnesia and iron ; the spring is strong, and the place looks pleasant by moonlight, as it was night when we passed. Between these springs and Cin. are a great number of sugar maple trees, much sugar is made from them.

OCT. 6th.

Weather quite warm, smoky ; viewed the city—its streets are regular, planned like those of Phila. wide, running at right angles ; pleasantly situated ; in every part new buildings are going up, which circumstance causes it to look not so neat and cleanly as it otherwise would. There are some neat and elegant buildings in it. An exchange is nearly finished which promises to be a fine building. A great number of steamboats lie at the wharf or landing ; they make a pretty show ; are uncommonly neat. The river is 10 or 12 inches above low water mark ; it is narrow, not half a mile in width when high ; about 15 ft deep, at the present time, in the channel.

OCT. 7th.

Looked after horses and priced them ; a great number of them here ; many very bad ones. After dinner, crossed the river in a skiff and went into Covington, which lies opposite Cin. and is in Kentucky ; a small town ; has a factory ; some fine residences. Eastwardly from Covington is Newport, separated from the former by a creek ; larger than the latter. We had a good view of Cincinnati from this place. Recrossed the river, and visited the waterworks at the east end of the town—the water is raised by means of steam from the river into a basin on the hill, whence the city is supplied. River water is generally used for every purpose—better than spring water for drinking—the latter is very difficult to be obtained. There are two museums in the town, also a theatre—it is a small and common building—it may accommodate 800 persons ; free stone is a good deal used in buildings, and for tombstones ; saw no marble here. The principal street is Main street ; much business seems to be transacted in it. There is one public garden called the Apollonian. The town is bounded by Mill creek on the west, and Deer creek on the east.

OCT. 8th.

About midnight, started in the stage for Dayton, dist 63 miles, fare 2.50 dol. In Cin. we had lodged at the Broadway house, Board 1 dol per day. Arrived in Dayton at 1 o'clock P. M. ; this is quite a large town, in a delightful situation, capital of Montgomery county. The Miami canal extends from Cin. to this place ; it and the Miami

river were, most of the time, in view from the road. The wood on this road is not so heavy and tall, as what we saw in other parts of Ohio ; a great deal of oak, and that, sometimes, low and husky. There were, however, in the vallies, along the river, to be seen uncommonly large sycamore trees. Corn crops are not so productive here, as those we have seen elsewhere in the state, but it is said to be owing to the exceedingly dry season. Land, with some improvements and a good portion cleared, sells at from 6 to 16 dols. an acre ; wheat about 50 or 60 cts, corn 20 and 25, rye 25, whisky 22. The country is much more thickly settled than I could have imagined ; we passed through several considerable towns on our road, as Franklin, Miamisburg, Middletown and Hamilton, which is the capital of Butler county. Afternoon hired horses and went in quest of Mr. Rohrer, formerly of Lancaster county ; crossed Mad river on our way, a small stream.

OCTOB. 9th.

Essayed to buy horses ; purchased after enjoying the troublesome satisfaction of having scores offered us ; horses, held for sale, numerous ; many worthless. Bought saddles, saddlebags, buffalo robes—every thing essential—and prepared for making an early outset to-morrow morning on our new mode of travelling.

OCT. 10th.

Left the National Hotel and jogged along on our horses ; went to Springfield and there remained for the night at Col. Hunt's Mansion house. This town is 25 miles from Dayt. ; it is a county town ; very finely situated ; I would suppose contains about 800 inhabitants.

OCTOBER 11th.

Started away about sunrise ; the morning clear ; it had rained a little during the night. From Spr. to Columbus is 43 miles—this distance we were not decided to go, but in the evening, when within about 7 or 9 miles of Col. we met no inn to our liking, therefore proceeded. It was cloudy ; the night was very dark ; there was for several miles an extension of wood, without any intervening house or cabin, and besides we were not perfectly satisfied of being on the right road, so that we almost could appreciate the feelings of a lost and benighted traveller. We reached Franklin about 8 o'clock—it is about 1 mile west of Colum. The country between Dayt. is very uniform, diversified with small but successive elevations and vallies ; wood

principally white oak ; some places, small and scrubby black-oak. Between Springfield and Col. little grain is raised—generally cattle ; on the road we counted, in one field, on the left, 32 stacks of meadow hay, and in another on the right 20, total 52. On the road we travelled to-day the country was thinly settled.

OCTOBER 12th.

Breakfasted at Watson's hotel Col., walked through the town ; it is pleasantly situated—a new place ; capital of the state, and of Franklin county ; the state house is a plain brick building. The Sciota river flows west of the town. We travelled to Newark 33 miles from Col., this is the seat of justice for Licking county, a small town. The Ohio canal is completed to this place from Cleveland on Lake Erie, distance 176 miles. 12 miles from Newark, it is supplied with water from a reservoir, covering 2000 acres of Land. This day, the second Tuesday in October, was the day of Ohio general election ; the parties are Clay and Jackson ; people generally seem not to be much concerned about the result ; a small number of votes were polled.

OCTOB. 13th.

To-day, breakfasted at Juville 14 miles from Newark ; passed through Zanesville, 11 miles from the former place. This town is situated on the Muskingum river, which is navigable to the canal, by means of a dam, and is expected next season to be made navigable for steamboats to the Ohio river. From Granville 6 miles west of Newark the country is hilly ; east of N. are large masses of sandstone rock. Around Zanesville the hills abound with iron-ore and stone coal ; the town is tolerably large ; is a manufacturing place ; has large cotton factories ; the advantage of water power. It is black looking from the coal used. The country through which we travelled to-day more thickly settled than that we passed, the two previous days. Saw the first chestnut trees, this day, which we noticed in Ohio. From Zanesville we went on the National road, which leads through wheeling to Washington, it is the most beautiful turnpike I ever saw, almost perfectly smooth. After leaving Zanesville, it began to rain very fast ; we proceeded on 9 miles where we lodged.

OCTOB. 14th.

This day we went 35 miles to Fairview ; passed through several villages, as Norwich, Cambridge, which is the capital of Greenway county, 23½ miles from Zanesville, Washington and Middletown ; had

rain in the evening before we reached our destination. We meet a great number of emigrants who are moving to the West—some days I should suppose 40 or 50 wagons with families ; there is also a great deal of travelling on horseback on the National road.

OCT. 15th.

Started on our journey to St. Clairsville, after passing through Morristown 9 miles from the former. St. Clairsville is 18 miles from Fairview ; is the capital of Belmont county ; about as large as Strasburg. The country is still hilly and fertile, as we proceed it becomes better improved and more cleared. Just in proportion, as there were few inns on the road west of Zanesville, affording any comfort, so there are many on the U. S. road. Tobacco is raised in this part of the state ; stone coal sells at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per bushel, wheat $37\frac{1}{2}$ or 40, butter 8 and 10 cts. per pound. Ohio abounds with free stone and sand stone—one meets with them every where ; all the bridges, culverts &c on the National road are built of these materials. These works are very tastefully constructed, and have an elegant appearance. I love the Ohio mode of setting a table—we almost always have a plate of waffles presented, and they are most excellent ; a great place for cakes, that is, good ones ; good living. Oh ! delightful !! We sought for Mr. McKelvey and found him ; he lives in the centre of the town ; is doing well ; is the first person I met with on our travels whom I formerly knew excepting Mr. Keagy at New Lebanon. How pleasant to find former acquaintances and converse with them when far from home.

OCTOBER 16th.

In the morning went to Wheeling 11 miles dist, from Zanesville 74 miles ; this town is in Virginia, on the east bank of the Ohio river ; a manufacturing town, and a place of a good deal of business. Inhab. about 5000. We went to Wheats glass works, and there saw Samuel McKelvey. Went from Wheeling up the river to Steubenville in Jefferson county, Ohio, dist. 23 miles. On this road is Wellsburg, Brooke county, Va., a considerable town. We met with several coal mines and salt manufactories. The view along the river is very pretty, the finely rounded hills on each side partially covered with timber and partially cultivated present a beautiful appearance. At Steubenville we lodged at Norton's ; this is quite a fine large town, upwards of 3000 inhab., has several factories, one large woolen factory has lately become bankrupt ; the town has a fine situation.

OCTOB. 17th.

Mr Norton very kindly went with us to Jacob Nissley's 17 miles further up the river ; took dinner at John's then proceeded to our destination. Mr Nissley is finely situated, has coal mines and salt springs on his land. Salt brings from 2 to 2¼ dols. per barrel. We saw where most of his relations live ; he had been dangerously ill.

OCTOBER 18th.

This morning went to Wellsville 4 miles further up the river, in Columbiana county ; a new town ; returned, and going through a small village called Somerset went to Richmond, and thence to Uncle Christian Groff ; he did not know me. Spent a few hours, then started to Steubenville. Jefferson County is very hilly, but all the hills admit of cultivation ; the soil is good, the population dense, and there are many fine farms, and fine houses ; new ones are rapidly building, and mostly brick.

OCT. 19th.

Left Steubenville for Economy, in Beaver Co. Pa. Our road, after passing through a small portion of Pa. led through part of Washington county, an excellent part of the state, well cultivated, soil pretty good, dense population, appearance very similar to Jefferson county Ohio, not quite so hilly. We took dinner at a village called cross roads ; had a senator from Harrison Co. Ohio for company—a Jackson man—opposed to Antimasonry. Night overtook us 6 miles from our destination ; ferried over the river 3 miles from the town, and reached it about 8 o'clock. It occasionally rained to-day ; weather rather unpleasant.

OCTOBER 20th.

Economy is delightfully situated on the Ohio river, in Beaver county, 18 miles from Pittsburg ; the inhabitants are 800 ; houses two story, about 20 yds apart. An extensive woolen factory is here, also a cotton. The woolen factory has 800 spindles and 25 power looms in operation ; cotton 1500 spindles. They have 5000 acres of land, about 1800 sheep, use 80,000 lbs. of wool annually for the factory ; they make hats, shoes &c and send them westwardly ; they make the machinery for factories. The society consists of Germans ; has a church, preaching twice every sabbath, and on Wednesday evening in a saloon. They have a museum—I was surprised at its quality and extent ; they have some fine paintings, and an extensive and well-arranged collection

of minerals—better than that in the Phila. museum—they say it is reckoned the best in the U. S. excepting that of Yale College. Before leaving the place we visited Mr Rapp ; he was occupied in writing ; found him quite communicative. In school the German language is principally taught ; applicants for admission to the society are taken upon trial for 6 months. We left the place in the afternoon and pursued our journey to Pittsburg. The road led along the river ; about dusk we arrived in the town. In approaching the city we were extremely delighted with the beautiful valley through which we passed, and the elegant and neat buildings which were presented to our view. An elegant bridge is built over the Alleghany river—this we crossed to go into the city ; we lodged at Glean's Mansion-house.

OCTOBER 21ST.

Walked up the Monongahela river, entered the work-shops ; among which were Page & Bakewell's glass establishment, and various iron works ; returning viewed the canal and other parts of the town. In the afternoon, went to hear Mr Forward plead, in the case of Mr. Weirich, indicted for robbing the mail.

OCTOBER 22d.

Went into Alleghany Village, this is on the bank of the Al. river opposite to the city. Many new buildings are rising in it. The Western Penitentiary is here ; it has a new appearance. There are in this place two cotton factories. We visited both ; also Blake & Anderson's extensive iron-works, they receive their pig-metal from a place near Cincinnati on the Ohio, where there is a great quantity of ore. In the first place the pig-iron is melted, after it is cold it is again heated, when it is subjected to the tilt-hammer and blooms are formed, these are operated upon by the rolling mill, and drawn out into bars and sheets, which are cut, by a kind of shears, of the proper form, when they are taken to the nail machine, where one man makes from 60 to upwards of two hundred nails in one minute, according to the size. Walked up the river to the aqueduct, crossed into Bayardstown, east from the city ; here are the Juniata iron-works, the most extensive and celebrated in this place ; there is also a large cotton factory here ; after satisfying ourselves with the iron-works we returned ; thunder and rain about noon. Pittsburg is situated between the two rivers, All. and Mon., on a plain, the former river flows North-west, the other South-west, and just below the town they unite and form the Ohio. Opposite Pitts. on

the other side of the Mon. is a village called Birmingham ; here are also various manufactories. The Canal is a great work at this place, it crosses the All. in an aqueduct 1130 ft in length ; it rests on 7 arches ; has a roof over it, and seems for the double purpose of a bridge and canal. Further down, there is a tunnel, nearly as long as the aqueduct, through a hill ; this has a noble appearance. Below the tunnel are three locks before it enters the Mon. river. A branch of the canal with two locks leaves the principal above the aqueduct, and passes through All. town. Pittsburg is larger than I should have thought ; is very black looking ; almost enveloped in smoke ; streets tolerably narrow ; stones used in paving too large ; densely built : every where new houses building ; a new church is in process, and in All. an academy. Many steamboats here waiting for the rise of the river. Southwest of the town, on the hills are several small villages, as Hayti, Pipetown, &c. A crowd of strangers is in the city. Pittsburg is 24 miles from Stub. What is styled the Western University is now being erected. Stone coal abundant in the surrounding hills.

OCTOBER 23.

Left Pitts. and lodged at Greensburg, Westmoreland Co., dist. 32 miles. To-day we passed through a fine country ; fine farms on the road ; seem to be well managed. Alleg. Co, the capital of which is Pitt. where we passed, is very populous. Greensb. is a small town, seat of justice for W. Co., it is in a fine situation.

OCTOBER 24th.

Arrived in Stoystown, Somerset county, about dusk, dist. from Gr. 39 miles. To-day, we had the pleasure of passing over the ridges of the Allegh. mountains. The first was chestnut ridge, the other Laurel hill. The former commenced on this side Youngstown, a village 10 miles from Gr. Laurel hill is situated on this side Ligonier, a village, 10 miles from Youngstown. Chestnut ridge has on it a great deal of Chestnut timber ; Laurel principally white oak. After leaving the hill, we saw some pine wood, along the way to Stoystown. The road is generally rough—it has however not yet been steep and difficult in the mountains. The Country from P. to the Mountains is considerably hilly ; the timber mostly white oak, also black oak, hickory, chestnut, ash, &c. Frequently traces of stone coal are perceptible on the road. Around Greens. wood is 2 dols. per cord, coal 5 cents per bush., wheat 50 cts per bush., rye 25, oats 20 ; other articles propor-

tional. People, as far as we have travelled through Penn., seem not to be so indolent as in Ohio ; not so careless ; more disposed to have things in order. We meet with a good number of dutch people, such as cannot speak the English language without giving some letters a German sound. From Greens. to the canal 13 miles, from Stoy. 18 ; Somerset is the capital of Som. Co.

OCTOBER 25th.

Breakfasted near the top of Allegh. Mountain, at Stottlen, 9 miles from Stoy. The ascent is about 8 miles in length ; the road rises very gradually and easily ; the descent is more steep, and not so long. This is the principal ridge dividing the eastern and western waters. Descending the mountain, we had a most beautiful view of the hills and country to the south and east. These mountains are much more cultivated than I imagined ; the All. is every where arable, except where too steep. After passing through Shellsburg, we attained the distance of Bedford, 29 miles from Stoy. This town contains about 1000 inh., is situated in a fine valley surrounded with hills ; there is a neat court-house here as well as two neat churches. From Bed. to canal 20 miles.

OCTOBER 26th.

Early this morning rode, in company with Mr Mayer of M'Connelltown, and Mr. Beitzel of Hagerstown, Maryland, to the Bedford springs, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south from the town. The scenery is fine around the springs, they are situated in Shover's valley ; on the east, rises Constitution hill ; on the west, Federal. The principal spring, called Anderson, rises from limestone rock in the side of the hill ; Fletcher's is south of this and said to be stronger ; the taste of the water is not very unpleasant. They derive their mineral quality from the Epsom salt they contain, added to various other salts in small quantities, and some iron ; at Fletcher's spring there is a good deal of iron ore. There are other springs, as, a sulphur spring, and a Chalybeate one, at a distance from the others. A small stream flows through the valley ; there is a dam below ; on it a pleasure boat ; a pond is now making for trout ; before the building is a fountain ; the water issues from the head of a station, and rises above 16 ft. There are three houses, the old one, the new one, and one on the hill for hunters. A good deal of game here. About 150 and 160 visitors generally—mostly from Virg. and Ma. The new building is 130 ft long. This place is much more interesting than Saratoga in point of natural scenery ; it might be

made most delightful. Dr. Anderson, owner ; rent \$600. Lodged, in Bed, at Dillon's hotel. Took breakfast at Bloody run, a village 8 miles from B. To-day, had finer views and numerous extensive prospects than we have yet had on the mountains. From B. Run, passed along the Baystown branch of the Juniata River ; the scenery along it is romantic and beautiful ; high hills bound it on each side, and these are covered with pine. Ten miles from B. R. the road leaves the stream—then we mount on the mountains, and have a most beautiful prospect—hills, rising one above another ; deep cultivated valleys ; the mountains, covered with pine and white oak ; some very steep and some rocky. After leaving Baystown branch we crossed Sideling hill—a rugged, abrupt and high mountain. About $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from M'Connelstown, going down another mountain my horse stumbled, and fell on my leg ; it was very painful ; went to the town ; was bled by Dr. Hamilton. Were entertained by Mayor. M'Con. is well built ; a pleasant village ; situated in a valley enclosed with hills.

OCTOBER 27th.

Had a restless night ; left the place about 10 o'clock for Chambersburg. Two villages, Loudon and Campbellstown are on the road. 3 miles from M'Con. is the line between Franklin and Bedford Cos. After passing over a hill, extending from M'C. to Lou., 8 miles from the former, we left the mountains, this being the east ridge of the Allegh. There is an abundance of iron ore in these hills ; many blast furnaces ; indications of ore may frequently be noticed on the road. Pine and white oak is the principal growth of wood ; there is also a good deal of chestnut, locust, black oak, &c., a low species of laurel. East of Bed. the hills are more steep and rocky than west. We stopped at Culbertson's, in Ch., the Conococheague flows west of the town ; it gives a fine water power, which puts in motion several mills and a cotton factory, &c. The soil between the town and mount. is not very fertile. Chambersburg is a fine town, seat of justice for Franklin Co., contains upwards of 3200 inhabitants, dist. 21 miles.

OCT. 28th.

Took the Walnut bottom road to Carlisle, distant 31 miles. The land, as we proceed, improving in fertility and cultivation ; towards Carlisle, in many places, it is very much broken by ridges of limestone. Breakfasted at Shippensburg 11 miles from Cham. ; a town of considerable size, near the line, between Fr. and Cumb. Counties. Had a view during the day of the South mountain south of us. This day

my ailing foot was less disturbance to me than formerly, becoming better. About dusk arrived in Carlisle ; stopped at ——— ; a little rain to-day.

OCTOB. 29th.

Left our tavern, rode around the town and then started on our way, which lay through Mechanicsburg to Harrisburg. Carlisle is a pleasant town, capital of Cumb. Co. Popul. greater than in Chamb. Dickinson College is a large building of stone ; there are several fine churches in it ; many stone habitations. About 1 mile from the town east are the barracks, capable of containing 10,000 soldiers and 300 horses ; they are situated between the turnpike and our road. There had been an encampment here this week, Gov. Wolf reviewed the companies. Mechan. is 9 miles from Car., rapidly improving. Car. to Har. 18 miles. A finely improved and fertile country between C. and Har. Crossed the Susquehanna about 2 o'clock ; two great bridges over the river, the western one reaches to an island, and from the island another leads to the east bank of the river, toll $18\frac{3}{4}$ cts. Harrisburg is delightfully situated ; on approaching the Capitol is very conspicuous ; on an elevation of land, in the northern part of the town. It is enclosed with a wall and wooden railing ; is an extensive and fine building ; much superior to the one in Albany. At a small distance, from the main edifice, on each side, are small buildings used for the departments of state and treasury. South of the state house is the arsenal and academy, both brick buildings. The Penn. canal is navigable to Clark's ferry, thence up the Juniata to Lewistown, 15 miles above Hari., it crosses the river. After riding about the town, we put up at Mrs. Beuhler's tavern. I could not go into the capitol, since I could not conveniently walk. Pop. between 2 and 3000 ; dist. to Lan. 26 miles.

OCTOB. 30th.

Pursued our journey to Middletown. Here the Union and Pa. canals meet ; an old looking place. After passing through Elizabethtown and Mountjoy we arrived at Uncle Martin Eshleman's ; here we remained for the night. Swatara stream flows into the Susq. at Middletown, and Conewago creek divides Lanc. from Dauphin County. Elizabethtown 18 miles from H.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31st.

Arrived at home about 10 o'clock ; found our folks all in good health, and people generally. We have been from home within one day of eight weeks.

INDUSTRIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LANCASTER AND YORK COUNTIES.

By G. D. LUETSCHER.

The historian no longer attempts to find one fundamental law to explain all the complex relationships of human life. But there is a growing belief that the industrial life is the most prominent element in human activity and that many political phenomena and even constitutional theories have their setting in the industrial background. This has been the contention of economists, who are especially interested in economic history, during the last few years. This view is also meeting with the approval of many students of history, who feel that any detailed analysis of political and constitutional history is incomplete and unsatisfactory without an exposition of the industrial background upon which this analysis rests. But when an attempt is made to provide this background the cause of the neglect of industrial history is readily discovered. The historian, who for the first time attempts to give a course in Industrial History, is not bewildered by the extent of his bibliography. That part in particular, which he would designate as *source material* is, extremely meager

All are very thankful for such studies as Miss Lord's *Colonial Industrial Experiments*, Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, and Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England (1620-1789)*. Miss Lord's Thesis deals chiefly with material found in the British State Papers showing the attitude of the Board of Trade towards the Colonies, while only slight attention is paid to actual conditions in the Colonies. Bruce carries his investigation only to the end of the seventeenth century and not one of the three mentioned continues the investigation beyond the period of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

The conclusion of all these writers is that manufacturing in the Colonies was very limited, owing, in part, to the opposition from the mother country, which considered the colonies as feeders of raw material for the manufacturers at home. To what extent the Colonies evaded the restrictions of England can be ascertained only in part, for Colonial statistics are meager. But we do know that with the beginning of the Revolution home manufacturing necessarily took on larger proportions, and that during the Confederation period several States passed impost laws whose prime purpose was that of protection and encouragement of home industries. The adoption of the Federal Constitution transferred the regulation of imposts from the States to the Federal Government. The protection sentiment found expression in the first session of the First Congress. Since the debates of the House of Representatives are published, we can ascertain the regions in which this protection sentiment was strongest. The Impost Laws of the Confederation period and these debates show that Pennsylvania, and particularly the German counties of Pennsylvania, were the strongest advocates of protection.

It is for this reason that the industrial statistics of Lancaster and York Counties have been gathered first. But before we pass to a consideration of these statistics, it will be well to show in some detail the importance of the above-mentioned

regions in the evolution of the protection sentiment of the United States. The position of the State as a whole is nowhere more clearly formulated than in the preamble to the State impost law of 1785 :

“*Whereas* : Divers useful and beneficial arts and manufactures have been gradually introduced into Pennsylvania, and the same have at length risen to a very considerable extent and perfection, insomuch that in the late war between the United States of America and Great Britain, when the importation of European goods was much interrupted, and often very difficult and uncertain, the artizans and mechanics of this state were able to supply in the hours of need, not only large quantities of weapons and other implements, but also ammunition and clothing, without which the war could not have been carried on, whereby their country was greatly assisted and relieved.

And whereas, although the fabrics and manufactures of Europe and other foreign parts, imported into this country in times of peace, may be afforded at cheaper rates than they can be made here, yet good policy and a regard to the well being of divers useful and industrious citizens, who are employed in making of like goods, in this state, demand of us that moderate duties be laid on certain fabrics and manufactures imported, which do most interfere with, and which (if no relief be given) will undermine and destroy the useful manufactures of the like kind in this country, for this purpose.”¹

The protected articles which follow this preamble are classified under fifty-one heads, and many of these contain a variety of related articles. Many of the articles that were taxed *ad valorem* had to bear a duty of ten per cent. The “yeas” and “nays” were not taken upon this bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature, which goes to prove that there was very little opposition to the act.

In passing from the State control of imposts to National control, we gain access not only to the laws, but to the debates

¹Pennsylvania Laws, 1785, p. 669.

upon the bills introduced into the House of Representatives. Among the debaters on the first National impost law (1789) but one person advocated the imposition of duties for the protection of American industries as well as for revenue. This man was Hartley, of York County. In the course of the discussion relative to imposts he said :

“ The business before the House is certainly of very great importance, and worthy of strict attention. I have observed, sir, from the conversation of the members, that it is in the contemplation of some to enter on this business in a limited and partial manner, as it relates to revenue alone ; but, for my own part, I wish to do it on as broad a bottom as is at this time practicable. The observation of the honorable gentleman of South Carolina (Mr. Tucker) may have weight in some future stage of the business, for the article of tonnage will not probably be determined for several days, before which time his colleagues may arrive and be consulted in the manner he wishes ; but surely no argument, derived from that principle, can operate to discourage the committee from taking such measures as will tend to protect and promote our domestic manufactures.

If we consult the history of the ancient world, we shall see that they have thought proper for a long time past to give great encouragement to the establishment of manufactures by laying such partial duties on the importation of foreign goods as to give the home manufactures a considerable advantage in the price when brought to market. It is also well known to this committee that there are many articles that will bear a higher duty than others, which are to remain in the common mass and be taxed with a certain duty *ad valorem*. From this view of the subject, I think, both politic and just, that the fostering hand of the General Government should extend to all those manufactures which will tend to national utility. I am therefore sorry that the gentlemen seem to fix their mind to so early a period as 1785, for we very well know that our circumstances are much changed since that time. We had then but few manufactures among us, and the vast quantities of goods that flowed in upon us from Europe at the conclusion of the war rendered those few almost useless. Since then we have been forced by necessity and various other causes to increase our domestic manufactures to such a degree as to be able to furnish some

in sufficient quantity to answer the consumption of the whole union, while others are daily growing into importance. Our stock of material is in many instances equal to the greatest demand, and our artisans sufficient to work them up even for exportation. In these cases I take it to be the policy of every enlightened nation to give their manufactures that degree of encouragement necessary to perfect them without oppressing the other parts of the community; and under this encouragement the industry of the manufacturer will be employed to add to the wealth of the nation."¹

To illustrate that this protection sentiment does represent the feelings of voters of York and Lancaster Counties, we need but show the strong Federal character of these counties up to the dissolution of Federalism in Pennsylvania:²

Year.	LANCASTER.		YORK.	
	Fed.	Rep.	Fed.	Rep.
1788	1652	345	1490	205
1792	1140	290	4925	35
1796	2061	619	3223	139
1799	3285	2258	2705	2026
1802	2183	2911	742	1691

The above table includes returns for Congressional Representatives (1788, 1792), Presidential Electors (1796) and Governor (1799, 1802). In all of these instances, these officers

¹ Annals of Cong., 1st Sess., 1st Cong., April 9, 1789.

² Authorities for table by years:

(1788) *Pennsylvania Packet*, Dec. 20, 1788.

(1792) *American Daily Advertiser*, October, 1792.

(1796) Vote for Presidential Electors, original returns in Penna. State Archives, Harrisburg.

(1799) Vote for Governor, *Journal of the Representatives of Penna.*, 1799, X 35.

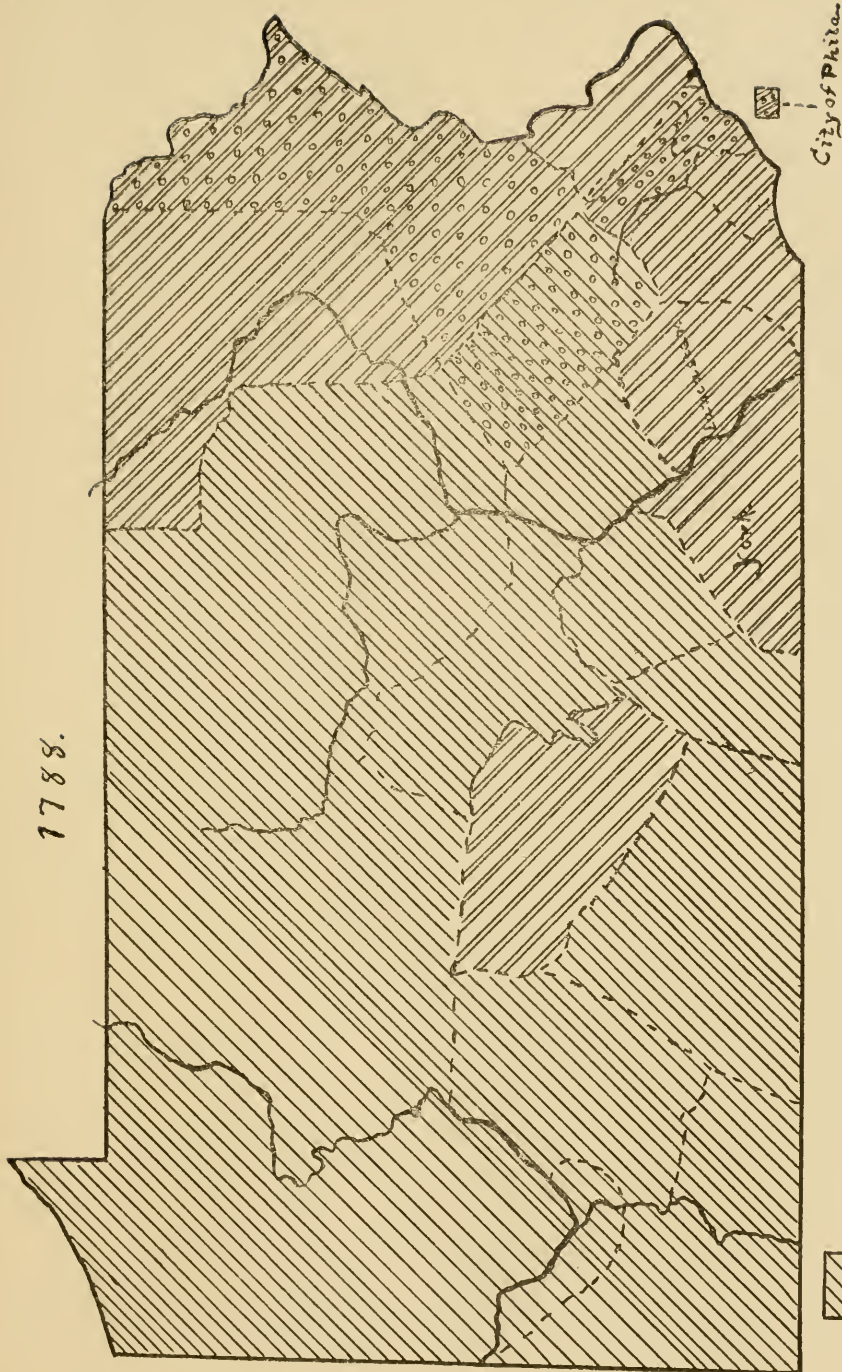
were elected by the State at large, and the returns preserved in State archives, while all of them, with the exception of the returns of 1796, are also published complete in the newspapers. The first column represents the Federal strength and the second column the Republican strength. Since the bulk of the Anti-Federalists of 1788 became Republicans by 1792, they are classified as Republicans in the table. These returns leave no doubt as to the Federal character of these counties prior to the election of 1802, when Federalism did not see fit to run a ticket in many counties.

These two counties, together with the two Quaker counties, Chester and Bucks, constituted the backbone of Federalism in the State. Luzerne and Huntingdon Counties were also strongly Federal, but for other reasons. Luzerne County was settled by Connecticut immigrants, who brought their Federalism with them; while Huntingdon County was the only Tory region in Western Pennsylvania. The Tories became Federalists, since they had reason to expect more protection from the national government than from the State government. The following two maps show the distribution of Federalism and Republicanism in 1788 and 1799. Majorities only are represented in these maps. If minorities were represented, the maps would show that the minorities in Lancaster and York Counties were much smaller than the minorities in many of the other Federal counties.

Map I represents the Federalism of York and Lancaster Counties in the most striking manner. The counties marked (o) did not vote the straight party tickets but heeded the appeal of some Germans from the County of Philadelphia and vicinity who were offended because the two parties slighted the German nationality. The Federal ticket contained only one German while the Anti-Federal ticket contained two German Federalists in order to capture the vote of the Germans who were mostly Federalists. But as soon as the two tickets were published, the Germans revised the two tickets so as to place the three

MAP I.

1788.



Anti-federalist.

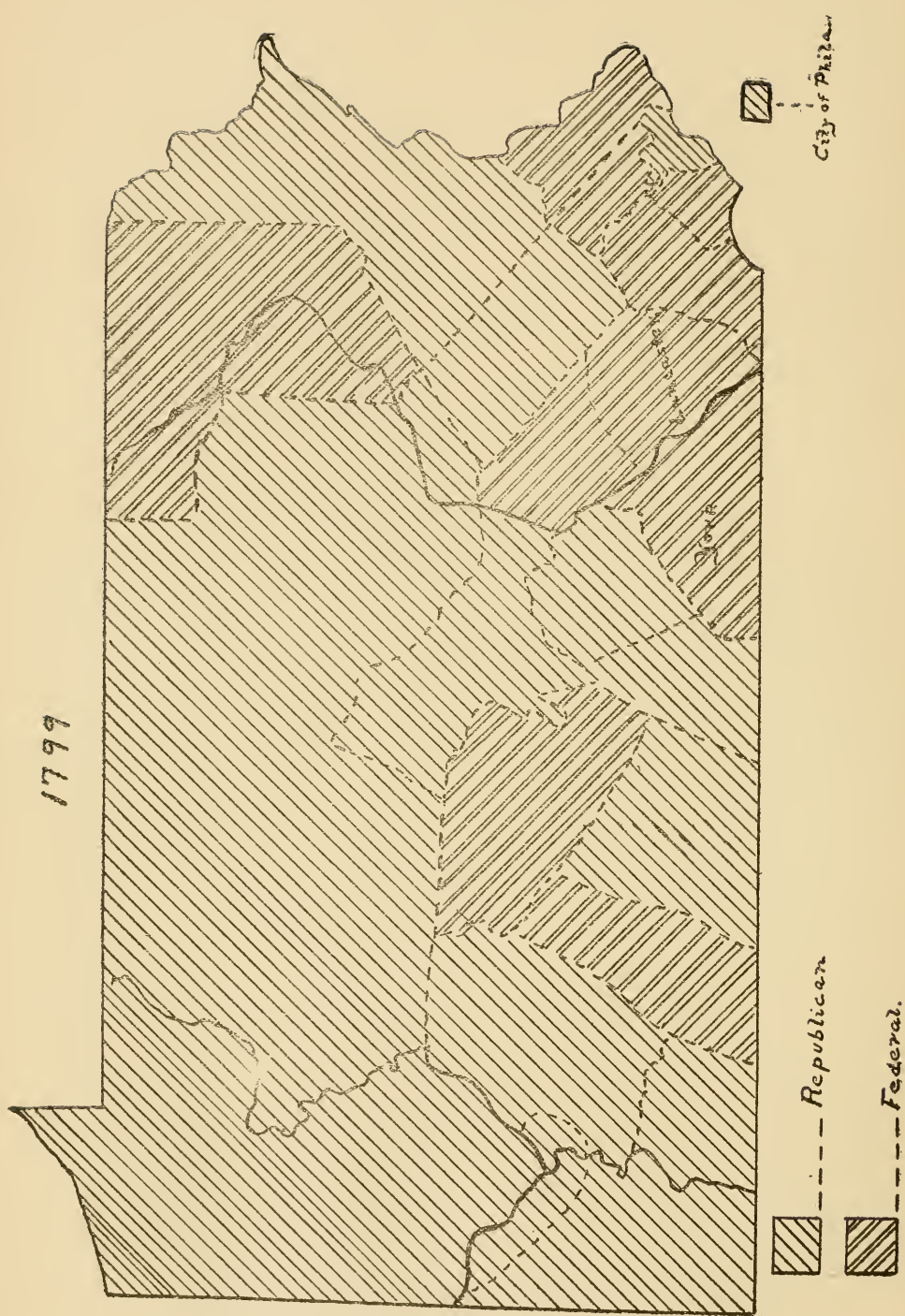


Federalist.

Countries voting for tickets as

revised by Germans are marked ---o---

MAP II.



Germans nominated by the Federalists and Anti-Federalists upon both tickets. The counties marked (o) in the map heeded this appeal and, as a result, the Federal ticket, as revised by the Germans, was successful, and three Germans were elected to Congress. But we observe in Map I that the Counties of York and Lancaster did not heed this appeal to nationality at all and voted for the English nominations. They must have felt that their prosperity was closely associated with Federalism and that it was of greater consequence to them than the question of nationality. In fact, if we exclude the City of Philadelphia these two counties constituted the center of Pennsylvania industrialism for their early inhabitants were pre-eminently tradesmen; they came from the region bordering upon the Low Countries and from the Rhine valley—from the very heart and artery of European industrialism. As long as manufacturing was conducted upon a small scale so that the necessary machinery could be turned by the innumerable small streams, these manufacturers held their own. Of the twenty-four firms of the United States that have been admitted into the Centenary Firm Association, sixteen are located in Pennsylvania and three of these are still thriving firms in the City of Lancaster.

The Confederation and early Federal periods, therefore, represent the time when some parts of the nation became strongly conscious of their industrial interests, for Hartley, of York County, stated in 1789 that great strides had been taken in the industrial life since the Revolution. But there are very few statistics showing this growth. It must be remembered that the great source of our present industrial statistics, the United States Census, constituted merely an enumeration of population until 1850 with the exception of the census of 1810. The Embargo and the Non-intercourse acts following upon the Orders in Council and the Napoleonic Decrees impaired foreign commerce and necessitated the investment of capital in home industries. This led to the desire of ascertaining the extent

of American manufacture and so, for the first time, provision was made in 1810 to take industrial statistics in addition to a mere enumeration of population. The Act provided :

“ That it shall be the duty of the several marshals, secretaries and their assistants * * * to take, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and according to such instructions as he shall give, an account of the several manufacturing establishments and manufactures within their several districts, Territories and divisions.”¹

The true character of these statistics is well set forth by Seybert, who wrote in 1818 :

“ Some elaborate and valuable returns were made and transmitted ; the greater number of them were irregular, and evidently very deficient ; those which came from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania and Virginia were most complete. The returns which have been received were not uniform ; each agent pursued his own views ; the results cannot be depended upon. * * * It is certain that they fall very short of the truth, as will be evident from the following instances, viz.—printing offices were returned only for three states and their number was stated to be one hundred and ten, bookbinders, calico printers and dyeing establishments were returned for only three states ; glass works for five states, omitting Massachusetts in which very extensive establishments existed, from which glass of a very superior quality had been long before exported to the other states ; carriage makers for three states ; blacksmith's shops for five, and hatters only for four states ; we might very much extend this catalogue of omissions.”†

To illustrate still further the inaccuracy of these statistics, a comparison of the census figures of 1810 and those given in the tax returns have been made for a few industries :

¹ Act was passed May 1, 1810.

†Seybert, *Statistical Annals of the United States* (1818), Preliminary Observations, p. 5.

1810.

Industries.	YORK.		LANCASTER.	
	Census.	Tax Returns.	Census.	Tax Returns.
Distilleries.	505	560	316	283
Hemp Mills	—	9	—	16
Oil Mills.	22	19	13	20
Grist Mills	94	150	135	159
Fulling Mills	14	7*	14	21
Carding Mills	17	1	19	5
Forges.	—	—	15	21

* Incomplete.

The figures given under tax returns may be accepted as fairly accurate since the township tax returns were practically complete for the year 1810. In York County the tax returns give one hundred and fifty grist and merchant mills in 1810; the census returns give only ninety-four. On the other hand, the tax returns do not give more than one carding mill of sufficient importance to be taxed; the census returns mention seventeen. The later returns show that it was between 1810 and 1820 that the carding mill displaced hand carding in York County. One of the important industries of these counties was the manufacture of hemp into fiber and of these hemp mills Lancaster had sixteen and York County nine in 1810, but the census returns fail to mention a single one for either county. Some new source for industrial statistics must therefore be discovered, if any reliable data are to be obtained. It is the purpose of the following discussion and tables to show that such a source exists at least in some parts of the United States.

There are a great many local papers that contain an abundance of scattered material, and when this material is sifted it will throw great light upon the industrial situation. The advertisements alone are a revelation in showing the

variety of local industries. Again there are extant a great many private account books stored away in out of the way places, that will come to light and be handed over to the investigator, if their use is properly explained to the possessor of such records. But by far the greatest source and one practically unused save by the genealogist, is the assessors' returns stored away in the county archives.

The tax returns of the counties of Lancaster and York are arranged in columns under the divisions of grist mills, saw mills, oil and hemp mills, forges, distilleries, etc. In York County the returns of all the townships for the same year are bound together in one volume, and consequently not much labor is required here to compile the statistics. The returns of Lancaster County were taken in the same way, but the township returns for each year are not bound into one volume and so each township return must be separately unfolded by the investigator. Age has added fragility to these returns and it is high time that the historian gain access to them before they are subjected to much more handling by the genealogist and the local antiquarian, who extract from them material that has very little value in throwing light upon the larger movements of history.

In order to make some comparisons, the records of Chester County have also been examined in some detail. In this county most of the returns in the Court House are bound together by years, but the industries are not arranged in columns, but are separately written out under each name.

The most lamentable story about these returns is their state of preservation. In York most of the returns covering the years prior to the Revolution are lost. The returns for the first thirty years (1730-1760) of county organization in Lancaster, it is said, have been sold for old paper. In Chester County the earliest complete returns at the County Seat are the returns for 1783. The earliest lists are now in the possession of private hands, and the possessor holds a receipt

showing his purchase of the same. The present owner rescued them from a barrel which was about to be consigned to the flames, and which, of course, but for him, would have been absolutely lost. Such is the dense ignorance that has prevailed in times past with regard to the value of public documents. Happily this time is past, for in almost every county local historical societies guard these records, and there is no longer much danger of wholesale destruction; and we doubt not that as the lesson of the value of these returns is being learned, ample provision will be made for their better preservation. In fact, we believe that there is reason for hope that it will result in the return of the public records that are now in private hands.

It is not even claimed that the statistics of these two counties in isolation will present a sufficient background or explanation to all the political and economic phenomena that have been cited, but it is claimed that they are sufficiently suggestive to show conclusively that the Assessor's Returns do constitute an important source and that there is reason to believe that a compilation of all of the statistics of all the available returns, not only in Pennsylvania but in other States as well, will shed light upon a great many problems. Furthermore, we do not desire to convey the impression, that the following tables constitute a complete tabulation of what can be found in these returns. The question of the valuation of the industries in their relation to the valuation of other property has been left practically untouched. The numbers of persons engaged in different trades have not been compiled and it is only through such a compilation that we can get any conception of the small industries like the manufacture of guns, clocks, cloth, wagons, etc. When these statistics are compiled, we shall have an important background to the detailed Tariff Act of 1785. The following tables illustrate only the larger industries such as mills, forges, distilleries and tanyards :

I.
LANCASTER COUNTY.

TOWNSHIPS.	GRIST MILLS.			SAW MILLS.			FORGES AND FURNACES.		
	1756- 1776	1776- 1790	1805- 1817	1756- 1776	1776- 1790	1805- 1817	1756- 1776	1776- 1790	1805- 1817
Strasburg	2	7	10-13	2	6-9	10			1
Conestoga	2	2	2	2	3	3			
Lampeter	5	9	16'-25'	6	6				
Manor	5	7	5	3	9	9			
Lancaster T.	2	5	5			1			
Manheim	4	8'	5	4	2	5			
Hempfield	14'	14'	8	3	4	5			
Donegal	3	6	8-10	3	3	8			1
Rapho	3	6	6-10	3	3	5			
Mount Joy		3	5-6		2	5			
Warwick	8	10	10	7	7	10	4		3
Elizabeth		3	4-7			2			1
Leacock		5	5		5	4			
Cocalico	11'	11	10-12		5	9			
Caernarvon	13'	14'	13'	7	4	4			2
Earl	10'	10	15-16		9	10			1
Salisbury	6	6	7			7			3
Sadsbury		2	3	1	7	2			
Colerain		3	6						
Martic		8-11	5			7			1
Drumore	7'	6	5		5	4			3
Little Britain		11'	8			5			1
Total	94	159	171	42	77	105	4		17

' Where the numbers are checked grist mills and saw mills are both included because the records did not distinguish.

II.
LANCASTER COUNTY.

TOWNSHIPS.	HEMP MILLS.			FULLING MILLS.			OIL MILLS.			CARDING MILLS.
	1756- 1776	1770- 1790	1805- 1817	1756- 1770	1776- 1790	1805- 1817	1756- 1770	1776- 1790	1805- 1817	1810- 1817
Strasburg		2	2	1	4	2	1	3		2
Conestoga			1						1	
Lampeter	3	1	2	2	1	1				
Manor										
Lancaster										
Manheim										
Hempfield										
Donegal		2	3		1	2		1	1	
Rapho						4			2	
Mount Joy			1							
Warwick			3			4				
Elizabeth			2			1			2	3
Leacock										
Cocalico	1	2	2	1	1	4	2		3	
Caernarvon		1	1					2	1	
Earl		1	2		1	2		1		
Salisbury									1	
Sadsbury		2			1	1				
Colerain										
Martic										
Drumore		2	1			2				
Little Britain						2				
Total	4	13	20	4	9	25	3	7	11	5

III. YORK COUNTY.

TOWNSHIPS.	GRIST MILLS.					SAW MILLS.					TANYARDS.				
	1782	1788	1797	1810	1820	1782	1788	1797	1810	1820	1782	1788	1797	1810	1820
Hellam	7'	4	8'	5	7	5			5	6			2	1	2
Huntingdon	11	4	13'			6					1	3	2		
Tyrone											1				
Dover	6'	4	3	3	3	3	7	7	3	3	1	1			1
Paradise	6'	3	4'	6	3	1	4	5	4			1			
Hopewell	4'	8	4'		7					6					1
Menallen	12'	5	21'			9					1	2	1		
Warrington	16'	5	10'	3	3	10		7	6					1	3
Berwick	6'	3	9'			3					2	2	2		
Codorus	15'	4	5	4	7	5	5	4	6		1			1	1
Manchester	22	19'	14	5	8		8	4	7		2			2	2
West Manchester	4			4	5				3	4				1	
Shrewsbury	15	5	12'	8	10	3		7	8	2	3	4	6	2	
Newbury	10'	5	7	6	7	9	8	7	5		1		1		
Winsor	16'	6	24'	7	8	5		7	8		1				3
Manapan	23'	6				4									
Manheim	20'	10	35'	12	9	6		8	7		2		4	3	
Cumberland	13'	1	6			1					1		2		
Straban		1										1			
Chanceford	7'	2	10'	2	2				2	4	1	1	1	2	1
Hamilton's Ban	10'	11	18			1					5	1	4		
Germany	8'	2				3						2			
Reading	3'	1				2					1	2			
Fawn	9'	5	6'	8	2	2		6	4		1	1	1	1	1
Heidelberg	4'	5	6'	2	6	1			5		2		3	3	
Mt. Pleasant	4'	1				3									
Mt. Joy	1	5	6'			1					1	1			
Yorktown		5	18'	10	7	7		4	3	4		1	1	1	2
York Borough											7	6	10		
Franklin		4	15'	3	3	2		4	5		1	5		3	
Hanover		4				2					2	2			
Monaghan			15'	2	2				3	5			2	1	
Washington				5	5				5	5				2	2
Fairview				4	4				4	4				2	1
Lower Chanceford				2	1				3	6					2
Hovenwell				7					6					1	
Conewago				2	2					3					
Hanover Borough															2
Total	248	130	341	108	111	94	32	101	114	20	40	36	40	35	

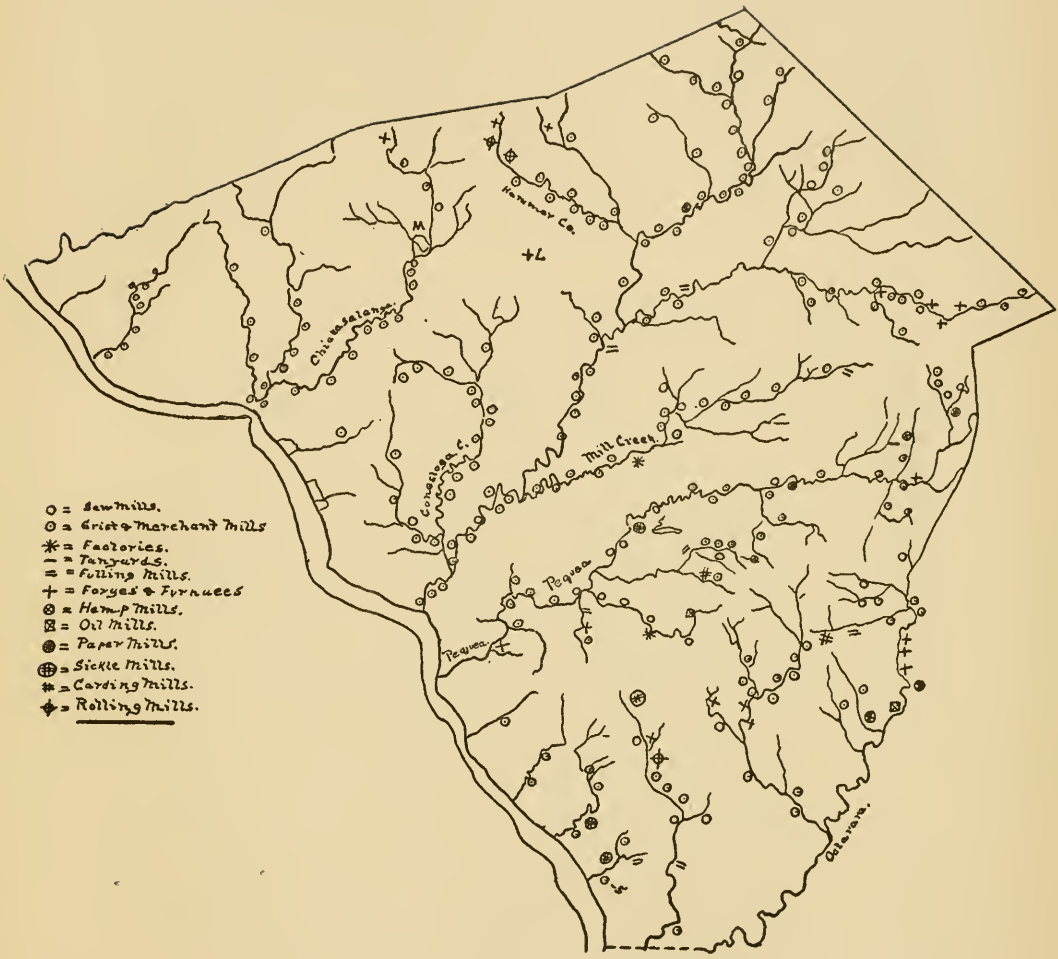
'All those numbers that are checked contain both grist and saw mills.

IV.
YORK COUNTY.
MILLS.

TOWNSHIPS.	HEMP.					FULLING.					OIL.					CARD- ING.	
	1782	'88	'97	1810	'20	1782	'88	'97	1810	'20	1782	'88	'97	1810	'20	1810	'20
Hellam		2															
Huntington				1	1							1					2
Tyrone						3											
Dover		1	1									1	1	1	1		
Paradise			1	1	1			1	1	1		1		2			1
Hopewell			1		5					2							
Menallen	1											1					4
Warrington												2					
Berwick						1											
Codorus		2	2		2			1	1	2		1	2	1			3
Manchester		2		1								3		2	1		1
W. Manchester																	
Shrewsbury						2		1	1			3		4	3		2
Newbury				1		1		1	2			2					1
Winsor				1	1				1			4		2	4		2
Manapan	1																
Manheim		3		1	1	1		1	1	1		7		4	4	1	1
Cumberland																	
Straban																	
Chanceford															1		
Hamilton's Ban																	
Germany												1					
Reading		1															
Fawn						1	1										
Heidelberg																	
Mt. Pleasant															1		1
Mt. Joy																	
Yorktown		2		3	1	1	1		1			3		3	3		2
York Borough																	
Franklin						1											
Hanover												1					
Monaghan						1											1
Washington									1					2			1
Fairview																	
Lower Chanceford									1								1
Hovenwell									2								
Conewago					1									5			
Hanover Borough																	1
Total	15	5	9	13		12	4	6	16		31	3	21	23		1	24

These tables illustrate the importance of some method in the preservation of the county archives. Tax returns of Lancaster County could not be grouped under single years as in York County, since a great many of the township returns, being unbound, have been lost. Owing to this incompleteness of any single year, a group of years had to be selected within which every township was reported at least once. Within the period selected some townships presented striking variations, and in such cases the extremes of these variations are indicated in the table. In York County, where the returns for each year were bound in one volume, no such difficulty has arisen, and the columns in the table represent the data for one year.

These tables show that Lancaster and York Counties possessed a large number of grist and saw mills, of which the former were primary and the latter secondary in importance. Lancaster County, in particular, enjoys many natural advantages that made these mills very profitable until they were displaced by the large western mills. The following map illustrates these natural advantages, together with the industries that were in existence in 1824. The great majority of these industries, and specially the grist mills, date back to the Colonial period. So the map illustrates the industries of the county for a long period of time. With the exception of the extreme southern portion, this county is a natural unit. The northern and eastern boundaries constitute watersheds, and the source of these innumerable streams, that empty their waters into the Susquehanna, which forms the western boundary. The gentleness of the watersheds, and the regularity of the water supply increases the durability of dams and the producing power of the mills. There are many counties that possess as good, or even better, natural advantages as far as water power is concerned, but there are few counties that contain the invaluable complement to this power, fertility of soil ; so that here the water power and the raw material were near together, which constitutes one



- = Sawmills.
- ⊙ = Grist & Merchant Mills
- * = Factories.
- = Tanyards.
- = = Fulling Mills.
- + = Forges & Furnaces
- ⊗ = Hemp Mills.
- ⊠ = Oil Mills.
- ⊕ = Paper Mills.
- ⊗ = Sickle Mills.
- # = Carding Mills.
- ⊕ = Rolling Mills.

LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES IN LANCASTER COUNTY IN 1824

of the requisites of economy in production. These Lancaster County mills ground Lancaster County wheat, corn, etc.

In Lampeter Township the mill-valuation constituted one-twentieth of the entire valuation of the property in 1783. The average valuation of one grist mill was £500; of a saw mill, £50; of a horse, £16, and of a cow, £4. In 1816, some of the merchant mills were valued over ten thousand dollars. These comparisons give us but a meager conception of the valuations, and they are only mentioned incidentally, since time has not permitted any accurate study of the same.

The producing power and actual production of these mills cannot be ascertained, for the statistics fail us here. We only know that, by the time of the Revolution, the tax returns show an increase of merchant mills over grist mills. The difference between these two mills was, that the latter did custom business only, grinding for every tenth bushel, while the former bought wheat and sold it on the market outside of the immediate vicinity, in addition to the regular custom work. In 1778, Lampeter Township had nine merchant mills, and there can scarcely be any question that these mills supplied the Revolutionary army with a great deal of the flour. Many attempts were made to gain access to some private account books, but only the accounts of one mill,* dating from 1829 to 1870, have been found. Diligent search after the accounts of this mill prior to 1829, when the mill changed hands, has met with failure. A discovery of these records, if they still exist, would constitute an important contribution, for this mill was built in 1720 and possessed the strongest water-power on Pequea Creek. The nature of the business of one mill would at least illustrate the business of others.

* The Wheatland Mill on Pequea. The half-tone represents the present building.

The records of the first few years are incomplete. The average amount of flour ground per year from 1840 to 1850 was 3500 barrels. The records show the following classifications :

	Custom	Lancaster	Self	Total
1839 to 1840	2271	1586	558	4215
1840 " 1841	968	1472	792	3232
1841 " 1842	729	1280	831	2840
1845 " 1846		863		
1846 " 1847		1712		
1847 " 1848		1976		
1855 " 1860 averaged		4500 per year		

We see in the above table three kinds of business—custom, Self, and Lancaster. Only the two latter need explanation. Self, refers to wheat sold upon the local market ; while Lancaster, refers to flour hauled to Lancaster to be sent to Philadelphia by freight. Thus the merchant business was by far the most important business of this mill. The above tabulation falls within the era of the railroad. But before the thirties, all the wheat had to be hauled to market on large Conestoga wagons drawn by four to six horses. Philadelphia was the chief market, and Lancaster is about sixty miles west of Philadelphia. Prior to 1796, the date of the opening of the Lancaster turnpike, this method of transportation was beset with the greatest obstacles. After this time, the toll gate rates became an additional element of expense.

The following were the rates charged :

(1). Two-wheeled vehicles and one horse seventy cents, or one and one-sixth cents per mile.

(2). Four-wheeled vehicles and four horses : one dollar and forty cents, or two and two-third cents per mile.

(3). Four-wheeled vehicles and four horses : two dollars and ten cents, or three and one-half cents per mile.

Lancaster Journal, Jan. 22, 1796.

The tables show that fulling, hemp and oil mills together with the forges also constituted an important part of the industry of these counties. Hemp was such an extensive product of this region that one of the townships of Lancaster county was named Hempfield. It had become so important at the time of the first Federal Congress (1789), that many of the representatives urged its protection by placing a duty upon imported hemp and it was finally enacted "That from and after the first day of December, which shall be in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, there shall be laid a duty on every one hundred and twelve pounds weight of hemp, imported as aforesaid, of sixty cents."¹ It was claimed that the cordage for ships, that had thus far been mostly imported, might now be manufactured at home from American hemp, and the hemp mills might be engaged in the preparation of the fibre. But the greatest use to which these mills were put was the production of the fibre for the numerous weavers, who wove these into rough linen chiefly for home consumption. The tax returns show the occupations of men such as weavers, carpenters, etc., but there was not time to gather and tabulate these statistics.

When the cloth left the home of these individual weavers, it was sent to the fulling mills. In the Colonial period these mills were merely fulling mills and not a combination of things as they were in the memory of men still living. They were turned by water power and were composed chiefly of rollers, stampers and beaters, which beat and rolled the fabric in hot suds and fuller's earth, felting it together until the right texture was obtained.

The first fulling mill of which we have any record in Lancaster county was established about 1727, as is shown by an order of the Land Commissioners to the Surveyor on August 27, 1728: "Whereas about two years since Liberty was

¹ Act of Congress was passed on July 4, 1789.

granted by some of us to Stephen Atkinson Clothier to Settle & Build a fulling Mill on a certain neck of Vacant Land situated between the tract surveyed to Edmund Cartlidge and Conestoga Creek as also to raise a Dam in the said Creek for the conveniency of his said Mill upon the agreement that the said Stephen should pay to the use of the Proprietary Trustees at the rate of five & twenty pounds per hundred acres [other land was sold at ten pounds per hundred acres] and the yearly quit-rent of one shilling sterling, and accordingly as we are given to understand he has built on, and improved the said Land and has also erected a good & useful fulling Mill thereon for ye Service of the Country. And the said Stephen now requesting that the same may be regularly Survey'd in order to complete his first Bargain and that for the better of his said Dam he may also be accommodated with a piece of the Proprietor's Land on the other side of the said Conestoga Creek."¹ The Commissioners instructed the Surveyor to survey twenty acres of land for the use of Stephen Atkinson.

The oil mills constituted a natural complement to the hemp and flax mills, since the oil was manufactured from the seeds of these plants.

Before the days of railroad transportation great numbers of cattle were slaughtered before shipment to the cities along the sea coast took place. Consequently, the tanning industry was not localized as it is to-day, but a large number of small tanyards were scattered throughout the country. The Lancaster county returns of this industry are unsatisfactory. But the York county returns are very accurate. They show that there were twenty tanyards in the county as early as 1782, and about twice that number between 1788 and 1820.

THE DISTILLING INDUSTRY.

We think of the distilling industry chiefly in connection with the first National Excise law (1792-1801) and the West

¹ "Old Rights of Chester County," State Archives, Harrisburg, Pa.

Alleghany Whiskey Insurrection of 1794. The latter incident has left the impression that the manufacture of whiskey was peculiar to this region. But this impression is quite incorrect, for distilling was one of the great industries of most of the interior counties of the United States. Any region removed fifty miles from the sea coast might well have been called interior during the days of wagon transportation. The difficulties of transportation has been discussed, in part, under the transportation of flour, but the obstacles to it can be most forcibly presented in connection with the treatment of the distilling industry.

The following statement of Gallatin, extenuating the insurrection spirit of the western counties, applies with a great deal of force to the Susquehanna counties; although he contrasts the western counties of Pennsylvania with those east of the mountains relative to the difficulty of getting goods to the market.

“Our peculiar situation renders this duty on whiskey still more unequal and oppressive to us. Distant from a permanent market and separated from the eastern coast by mountains, which render the communication difficult and almost impracticable, we have no means of bringing the produce of our lands to sale either in grain or in meal. We are, therefore, distillers through necessity, not choice, that we may comprehend the greatest value in the smallest size and weight. The inhabitants of the eastern side of the mountains can dispose of their grain without the additional labor of distilling, at a higher price than we can after we have bestowed that labor upon it. Yet, with this additional labor, we must also pay a high duty, from which they are exempt, because we have no means of selling our surplus produce but in a distilled state.”¹

The York or Lancaster County farmer might haul his grain to market directly with as much ease as the West Alleghany farmer could send his produce to market in a distilled

¹ Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, p. 88.

form, but even a distance of a hundred miles from the market interposed sufficient obstacles to transportation to make it highly profitable to lessen the bulk and increase the value of their natural product. Most of the whiskey manufactured in York County was hauled to Baltimore in large Conestoga wagons drawn by four to six large horses. The load usually consisted of four barrels of whiskey, each one of which contained one hundred and fifty gallons. One of the most popular Pennsylvania German writers, Ludwig Müller, has given form to these trips in the following poem :

“Nooch Baltimore geht unser Fuhr
 Mit dem bedeckte Waage ;
 Der Turnpike zeicht uns die Geschpuur
 Die Gäul sin gut beschlaage,
 En guter Schluck, Glück zu der Reisz
 Der Dramm, der schteigt un fallt im Preisz—
 So blooze die Posauner—
 Hot, Schimmel, Hot ! ei, Brauner !
 * * * * * * * *
 Den Dramm, den, hen mer jetzt ferkaaft, un’s Gelt isch in de Tasche ;
 Jetzt fahre mir fergnügt zu Haus, uns leres in die Kaschte.

Ein guter Schluck ! Glück zu der Reisz !
 Der Dramm der Schteigt un fallt im Preisz—
 So bloose die Posauner—
 Hot, Schimmel ! Hot, ei Brauner !

Thus the industry proved so general that the popular writers of the time make mention of it almost to the exclusion of all other industries. But nowhere is the importance of the industry more strikingly illustrated than in the advertisements of hardware stores. Some of the Lancaster firms used a still to represent their firm as early as 1796.

While the whiskey manufactured in York County was sent mainly to Baltimore, that of Lancaster County was sent to Wilmington and Philadelphia. Mention has been made before that by 1796 Lancaster was connected with Philadelphia by the

Lancaster turnpike, which greatly improved the conditions of transportation while it at the same time added the expense of toll for the use of the road, the toll for a return trip to Philadelphia being three dollars and forty cents.

It was not alone the difficulty of transportation which made the manufacture of whiskey desirable, but it was one of the very few ways by which the owner of a small amount of capital could turn manufacturer. The following statement made in 1791 by a West Alleghany writer illustrates this well :

“There is no man of easy and affluent circumstances that will trouble himself with a distillery. It is an effort made by those who are just rising from the pressing circumstances, as being a manufacturer by which they can make something more than the mere original labor of cutting timber or digging the soil. Any man, therefore, who, after severe struggling, is able to purchase the utensils of a distillery, considers himself as in a way to get above absolute drudgery, and to make a shilling faster and more easily than by the mattock and the plow alone.”¹

It is for these various reasons that the Lancaster and York farmers found it at least convenient, if not necessary, to turn their produce into whiskey, while they fed their live stock with the refuse of this product. This industry was not limited to a few people, for the statistics that are to follow will show that most of the well-to-do farmers had one distillery, while others had from two to four. The owners of grist mills in particular found it profitable to have distilleries in connection with their mills, for instead of selling that part which was their portion for grinding, they might again add to its value by manufacturing it into whiskey. The ingredients that entered into this whiskey were numerous. One of the account books has the following interesting item : “Took — bushels of screenings to the distillery.” There is at least a strong probability that

¹ Am. Dy. Adv., Sept. 30, 1791.

this refuse was used for the manufacture of spirits, and that the product was not Pure Rye. In fact, as far as can be learned from the old distillers still living, the product then manufactured was chiefly corn whiskey. One of the account books contains the following statement, giving the number of bushels of all ingredients used within a certain number of months.

This table illustrates the proportions that were adopted in at least one distillery, and, since this was one of the most important ones, it is likely that these proportions are fairly representative.

	Bushels.
Corn.....	5853
Rye.....	1951
Yeast Rye.....	438
Malt.....	273

The preceding discussion presents some of the conditions that made this industry desirable and profitable, and in this light the following statistics, showing the numerical strength of the distilleries in Lancaster and York Counties, cannot fail to be instructive :

I.
YORK COUNTY.

TOWNSHIPS.	1782	1788	1791	1792-1800	1801	1810	1820
Huntingdon	12	8			4		
Hellam	27	17			16	60	24
Tyronne	9	3					
Dover	21	5			18	20	18
Paradise	13	8			30	36	58
Hopewell	3				12	53	23
Menallen	7	4					
Warrington	6	5			3	4	2
Berwick	14	9	12				
Codorus	21	14			50	57	32
Manchester	40	19			19	30	24
W. Manchester					14	23	20
Shrewsbury	14	8			17	30	35
Newberry	16	9			9	10	2
Winsor	21	22			27	53	24
Manapan	28	4					
Manheim	25	28			62	108	33
Cumberland	15	5					
Straban							
Chanceford	8				26	10	2
Lower Chanceford							1
Hamilton's Ban	9						
Germany	7	5					
Reading	9	2					
Fawn	6				7	9	1
Heidelberg	3	3			0	1	34
Mt. Pleasant	8	4					
Mt. Joy	7						
Yorktown	4	13			18	53	21
York B.		1				3	2
Franklin		2				7	3
Hanover		5					
Monaghan					14	8	6
Conewago							11
Washington						8	2
Fairview						16	11
Total	353	203			346	599	389

Period of the National Excise Law ;
not a single Still mentioned in the
tax returns for these years.

II.
LANCASTER COUNTY.

TOWNSHIPS.	1756-'70 ¹	1776-'90	1805-'17
Strassburg		12-28	16
Conestoga		12	10
Lampeter		14	14
Manor	6	20-35	
Lancaster		6	10
Manheim		8	24
Hempfield		31-39	
Donegal		17	18-36
Rapho		26	
Mount Joy		5	13
Warwick		17	11
Elizabeth			
Leacock		7	8
Cocalico			5
Caernarvon		16	6
Earl		14	16
Salisbury		17	3
Sadsbury		9	4
Colerain			
Martic		17	8
Drumore		11	1
Little Britain	9	5	6
Total	15	293	191

These tables show how extensive the distilling industry was in these two counties. The table groups the distilleries of Lancaster County into three periods. Mention has been made before of the fact that the township tax returns for the same year are not bound together, and so it is impossible to obtain the complete returns of all the townships for any one year. Hence the necessity of grouping them into periods. All the township returns of York County for any one year are bound together, and so the table gives them in that form.

¹ Tax returns incomplete for this period.

Distilling seemed to reach its zenith in 1810, as far as its numerical strength is concerned, but that does not mean that its productive power decreased with the decline in numbers after 1810. In fact, the decade from 1810 to 1820 was the time of many inventions in machinery used in its production and the returns make a distinction between a common distillery, the old kind, and a patent distillery, the new kind. However, with the advent of the railroads and the solution of the problem of transportation there is little doubt that the production of whiskey greatly declined, for in 1840 the number of distilleries is insignificant as compared with that of 1810.

The prosperity of this industry was threatened with the enactment of the first National Excise law (1792-1801), while the opposition manifested itself in open rebellion in the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794. At the time of the enactment of this law whiskey sold for no more than a shilling or twenty-four cents, and owing to the scarcity of money and credit a gallon of this beverage constituted the medium of exchange in the western counties of Pennsylvania. The question naturally arose whether this industry would be profitable after this tax was paid. The act provided :

“That upon all spirits which after the last day of June next, 1791, shall be distilled within the United States from any article of the growth or produce of the United States, in any city, town or village, there shall be paid for their use the duties following, that is to say : for every gallon of those spirits more than ten per cent below proof, according to the Dica's hydrometer, nine cents ; for every gallon of those spirits of proof and not more than five per cent below proof, according to the same hydrometer, ten cents ; for every gallon of those spirits above proof, but not exceeding twenty per cent, according to the same hydrometer, thirteen cents ; for every gallon of those spirits more than twenty, and not more than forty per cent above proof according to the same hydrometer, seventeen cents ; for every gallon of those spirits more than forty

per cent above proof, according to the same hydrometer, twenty-five cents."¹

It must be borne in mind that in 1790, when the proposed excise law first came up in Congress, a Pennsylvania State law called for the payment of a small tax on spirits. This tax, however, was repealed in 1792. Before this repeal of the State law the Pennsylvania Assembly had made a stubborn stand against the proposed National law. The greatest portion of the first session of the first legislature under the constitution of 1790 (Dec. 1790–March 1791), at the very time and in the very building where Congress was discussing the excise law, was spent in passing resolutions against the passage of the proposed law. These resolutions failed to gain publicity since the Senate refused to concur in them. There were about seventy-five members in the Assembly of Pennsylvania and out of these less than twenty voted against the following resolutions: (Vote 40–16)

“Resolved, that any endeavor on the part of the United States to collect a revenue by means of excise established upon principles subversive of peace, liberty and rights of the citizen, ought to be remonstrated against.

“Resolved, that no public exigency can, in the opinion of this House, warrant the adoption of any species of taxation which shall violate those rights which were the reward of those exertions, and the basis of our governments, and which would exhibit the singular spectacle of a nation magnanimously resisting the oppression of others in order to enslave itself.

“Resolved, that it appears inconsistent with the duties of the Representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania to remain silent spectators of a measure, in which their constituents are so deeply interested; and that these sentiments be communicated to the Senators representing the State of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States.”²

¹Act approved March 3, 1791.

²Journal of Penna. House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1791.

When the vote upon these resolutions was taken in the Pennsylvania House, four of the six representatives from Lancaster County voted in the affirmative and the remaining two were absent. But to our great surprise only two out of the six representatives from York County voted for the resolutions, while four voted against it. The minority of the House adopted extensive resolutions in opposition to the action of the majority, maintaining that no State had a right to prescribe for Congress what acts are expedient and what ones are not. Very likely the action of the York County members was based upon this constitutional objection and should not be interpreted as meaning that they decided to stamp out the industry in the county. The excise was a measure of the administration and to support these resolutions would throw question upon the Federal character of the county. This interpretation is supported by the action of the representative of York County in the United States House (Hartley) who refrained from all discussion upon the proposed National Excise and voted against the measure when it was brought up for a vote. The constitutional objection that applied to the members from York County in the Pennsylvania House did not apply to him.

When it was ascertained that the tax returns gave such complete data relative to this industry as shown in the tables, it became our chief concern to ascertain the effect of the National excise law upon the industry in these counties. The returns of Lancaster County do not show any appreciable decrease in the number of distilleries. In York County, on the other hand, our expectations were fully realized. The above table, giving the distilling industry of York County shows that there were three hundred and fifty-three distilleries in 1782, two hundred and three in 1788, three hundred and forty-six in 1801, five hundred and ninety-nine in 1810, and two hundred and eighty-six in 1820; but the most significant feature is that between 1792 and 1801, the period of the National excise law, not a single distillery is reported in the tax returns. It is true that the number of distilleries had

decreased from three hundred and fifty-three in 1782 to two hundred and three in 1788, which indicates that the industry was somewhat on the decline. Between 1788 and 1792 the complete tax returns of only one township are available, but in that township the distilleries increased from nine to twelve in this period. At all events, the absence of the distilleries as a rubric in the tax returns from 1792 to 1800, and the appearance of three hundred and forty-six of these distilleries in 1801, was due to no other reason than the enactment of the excise law. The period of inactivity did not seem to incapacitate these stills; in fact, it seemed to multiply their number by about one hundred and fifty, and there is at least a basis for strong suspicion that "inactivity" may not be descriptive of actual conditions. It is impossible to ascertain to what extent the National Treasury suffered from the silence of the assessors, for the Treasury receipts were destroyed when the Capitol was burned by the British in 1814.*

* The Expedition wishes here to express its appreciation of the courtesy and assistance of the Commissioners of the Counties of Lancaster and York and also for valuable assistance received from the Account Books of Mr. John Mussleman, of Lancaster and the courtesy of Mr. Pugh, the present proprietor of the Wheatland Mill.

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